The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 25, 1892.

The Week.

It is a fact of common experience in this country that a switchmen's strike is the ugliest of all strikes and the one most difficult to deal with. The Buffalo strike has been in keeping with all that we know about these affairs. The New York Central switchmen "went out" not because of any grievance of their own, but because the others went out. The Buffalo and Pittsburgh men struck and the company acceded to their demands, but they refused to go to work until the Erie and Lehigh Valley Companies should yield to their men. All this would be endurable if the men would go about their business and leave other people and other people's property alone. But this they will not do. No sooner do they "go out" than they organize themselves as brigands, and proceed to burn and wreck and kill and maim wherever an attempt is made to operate the roads that they have abandoned. They must be put down, they must be made to suffer the consequences of their riotous acts, but that ought not to be the end of the affair. These railroad interruptions ought to be made impossible. So many interests are affected by a stoppage of traffic that the State ought to intervene in some effectual way to insure the continuous and regular movement of trains. The Railroad Commissioners of this State pointed out the need of such legislation several years ago, and showed the equity as well as the necessity of it. Of course, men cannot be compelled to work on railways more than in factories against their will, but they can be, and should be, required to give reasonable notice of their intention to quit, so that their places may be filled and the movement of traffic continued. The employers should be equally required to give notice of intention to "lay off" any hands in their employ. Railway and telegraph service should be made subject to army discipline, the obligations being mutual between employer and employed. *A fortiori* the forcible stoppage of trains by hands who have discharged themselves from service without a moment's warning, and even after their demands had been complied with, should be dealt with in the most summary manner with all the power of the State.

President Harrison's proclamation fixing a toll of twenty cents per ton on Canadian freight passing through the Sault Ste. Marie Canal is moderate in tone and also in the amount charged for the transit. The Canadian Government appears to have been in fault with respect to the British Legation at Washington, as well as in other ways, for the Chargé, Mr. Herbert, was not informed of the decision to continue the rebates till the end of the present season until our Government had obtained the information from our Consul-General at Ottawa. This is all the more remarkable since Mr. Herbert was using all diligence to obtain the facts for both his own use and that of Secretary Foster. The Canadian Government has behaved like a coterie under the control of Montreal shipping merchants, and yet anxious to avoid an international difficulty, the result being a sort of "confession and avoidance." If the rebates are justifiable under the treaty, there is no reason why they should be abolished at the end of the present season. If they are not justifiable, there is no excuse for continuing them till the end of the season, and no reason for doing so except to put money in the pockets of the Montreal shippers aforesaid. It is still possible for the Canadian Government to solve all difficulties by either abolishing the rebates to Canadian vessels, or giving the same rebates to American vessels during the remainder of the present season of navigation. The only objection to this course apparently is that it would be another confession that they were in the wrong. But having made one such confession when they proposed to change their policy at the end of the season, the additional one can make no great difference. The season of navigation on the Canadian canals ends on or before November 15. Consequently there is but little more than two months' winnings for the Montreal shippers in any case. Is it worth the while of Premier Abbott to have trouble stirred up and to run the risk of a rebuke from the home Government for so small a mess of pottage?

Judge McCormick of the United States Circuit Court, sitting in Texas, gave a decision on Monday of very great importance to the railroads and to all the inhabitants of the country. The decision denies flatly the assumed power of a State Legislature to regulate rates of freight and fare through the mediumship of a board of railroad commissioners, if by such regulation the rates are made so low that the company cannot pay its own debts. Such regulation is held to be a law impairing the obligation of contracts. The text of the decision is not before us, but its practical import is to make the courts judges of the fact in question, whether the rates fixed by the Railroad Commissioners are too low for the purpose or not. It is evidently based upon the decision of the Supreme Court in the Minnesota cases. The State of Texas has been in a seething condition for some years on the subject of railway charges. Distances are great, population sparse, and railway operation costly. The only thing in the railway situation of which there is an over-supply is demagogues. These, headed by ex-Senator John H. Reagan, procured the passage of a law in April, 1891, creating a Railroad Commission of which Reagan became the leading member. The Commissioners were empowered to establish rates, and, since they represented only one of the parties to the bargain (the shippers), they put the rates low enough to satisfy their constituents. The railroads applied first to the Commissioners for relief, and of course got none. As they could not bring an action in the United States courts directly, the trustees of certain mortgages, representing non-residents, brought suit for an injunction to restrain the Commissioners from enforcing their arbitrary rates, upon the ground that such enforcement would disable and prevent the companies from meeting the interest on their bonds. The injunction was issued on Monday according to the terms of the petition.

Evidence accumulates that the Republican managers want to unload the Force-Bill issue, and are experimenting to see if they can do so. Last month Henry Cabot Lodge, who gave his name to the proposed legislation on this question in the last Congress, delivered his opening speech of the campaign—a long, elaborate, and carefully prepared address—and said not one word on the subject. On Wednesday of last week ex-Speaker Reed delivered his first speech of the campaign at Portland, and while he was voluble enough regarding silver and the tariff, he was as silent as the grave about the Force Bill. These are extraordinary performances on the part of such men as Lodge and Reed, and very short-sighted as well. Such silence does not help the case of the Republicans at all, because nobody believes for a moment that it signifies anything beyond their desire to deceive the public. Lodge, and Reed, and the rest of them might much better stand up like men.

The ex-Speaker had some very blunt and contemptuous references to those ingenious and latter-day "McKinley-prices" editors and orators who are trying to make out that the higher tariff lowered prices. He frankly gives it as his opinion that what has "kept prices down" is the "fact that the greediness of importers overstocked our markets." But he thinks the manufacturer ought not to give up hoping for higher prices, inasmuch as he "knows that the goods cannot be imported at such large profits hereafter, and therefore he will have more chance for the American market." At the same time, Mr. Reed warns the manufacturers that the "thing of all things desired by the human being is lower prices," and that

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those prices are bound to come in the long run. But he makes no pretence that a high tariff will be their cause, which he very sensibly finds in "human ingenuity harnessed to business" and the "competition of the United States with the whole world." With great emphasis he assured his hearers that in that competition lay their "certainty of lower prices and higher wages." It would be interesting to learn from Mr. Reed, in one of his franker moments, his real opinion of the tariff which destroys that competition, so far as possible, and which therefore, on his own principles, must tend to produce high prices and low wages.

Senator Hoar says in his campaign letter from Paris that the Democrats deny in their platform the existence of any power in the Government to help manufacturers. Oh, no. There is a manufacturer well known to Mr. Hoar who says that he should be greatly helped by a repeal of the duties on coal and iron ore. His name is Ames. He was Governor of Massachusetts a few years ago, and is now a leading Republican politician. There are several hundred manufacturers in Massachusetts who agree with ex-Gov. Ames on this point. There are others who say that a repeal of the duties on wool would assist manufacturers. Congressman Stevens is one of these. Senator Hoar knows him very well. Now, the Democratic party offered to help manufacturers during the recent session of Congress by repealing the duties on wool, but Mr. Hoar and his allies in the Senate would not even consider the bill. Is not Mr. Hoar as big a tariff humbug as he is a Force Bill humbug?

The Democratic Convention in Iowa on Thursday was large, enthusiastic, and harmonious, indicating that the party is still in as hopeful a condition as when it carried the State in the last two elections for Governor. No Governor is to be chosen this year, but several minor State officers are to be elected. The most important State issue is still the question of regulating the liquor traffic. The Republicans are trying to dodge it by making no reference to the subject in their platform, in pursuance of a policy of silence which has been adopted by the managers throughout the West. On the other hand, the Democrats pronounce again for the doctrine of license and local option, and pledge themselves to the enactment of laws which shall give the people in their respective localities the management and control of the liquor traffic. It is much more creditable for a party to have a definite policy on such an issue, and it will be strange if it does not prove more advantageous also. On the tariff issue in national politics the platform is equally outspoken and emphatic.

Chief-Justice Morse of the Michigan Supreme Court, whom the Democrats of that State have nominated for Governor, is a man well qualified for an executive position, but it may be doubted whether it was good policy for the party to take its candidate from the bench. The Constitution of the State provides that no judge of the Circuit Court shall be eligible to any other than a judicial office during the term for which he is elected, and for one year thereafter, and that all votes given for such judge for any such (inhibited) office or appointment, whether by the Legislature or the people, shall be void. No mention is made of Judges of the Supreme Court, but of course every argument which applies to the lower court has equal weight in the case of the higher; and while there is no legal prohibition of Mr. Morse's candidature, it is morally forbidden by the plain intent of the framers of the Constitution. The feeling against going to the bench after a nominee for a non-judicial position is very strong in this country, and seems to be growing stronger. It is not wise for a party to fly in the face of it.

The *Iron Age* publishes a table, which it has obtained from Senator Carlisle, showing the cost of production and the selling price of tin plates in Wales during the years 1887–1891 inclusive. It appears that the cost of production ranged from 11s. 10d. to 13s. 4d. per box, showing an extreme variation of 1s. 6d., but the selling price ranged from 12s. 6d. to 17s., a variation of 4s. 6d. The great rise in prices took place in the latter part of 1890 and the beginning of 1891, when the maximum figure of 17s. per box was reached. This was caused by the rush of American buyers to get stocks accumulated before the McKinley tariff should take effect. During the twelve months ending June 30, 1891, there were shipped to the United States 9,259,490 boxes at the advanced prices. The average advance above the normal quotation could not have been less than fifty cents per box during that year. In other words, the McKinley Bill turned an extra profit of at least $4,600,000 into the pockets of the Welsh manufacturers in one year's time at our expense. These manufacturers showed no more inclination to divide the profit with their workingmen than ours do. The rate of wages remained unchanged till the middle of 1891, when there was an advance of about 10 per cent.

A correspondent inquires what proportion of the tin plate used in this country is made here at the present time. None, we think. About 1 per cent. is the figure if we count as American tin plates the British black plates imported and tinned here. The importation of these plates in the whole year ending June 30, 1890, before the McKinley Bill went into operation, was only 2,298 pounds. It shot up to 5,418,522 pounds in nine months ending March 31, 1892, and during this time the Treasury Department reported a manufacture of 5,240,830 pounds of American tin plate, showing that there remained at that time 177,722 pounds of British black plate to be tinned. The duty on black plate is $1.65 per 100 pounds, while on tin plate it is $2.20 per 100 pounds. This affords a fine chance for profit, at the expense of the consumer, since tin-plate dipping is scarcely more complicated than dipping one's self in the ocean on the Jersey shore. The annual consumption of tin and terne plates in this country is about 680,000,000 pounds, and the tax paid on it either to the Government or to private individuals is close upon $15,000,000.

The imagination of the public is from time to time dazzled with figures showing the enormous return upon money invested in land in the city of New York a generation or two ago—figures over which the disciples of Henry George writhe in agony. These calculations, however, generally fail to take into account the deductions which have to be made from such returns. Thus a real-estate journal recently stated the case of four lots, three of which were bought in 1852 for $4,500, and the other in 1860 for $2,550, a total of $7,050. They are regarded as now worth $40,000 apiece for the three inside lots, the corner being worth considerably more. The property, however, has been, we judge, wholly unproductive, and if any one chooses to calculate what $7,000 would amount to during the period covered, if invested at compound interest, and to add to this sum the amount of the taxes and assessments paid, also with compound interest, it will appear that the occupation of owning land is not attended with such exceptional profit as is frequently represented. Considering the high rates of interest prevalent until recently in this country, and the expensiveness of our city government, it is speaking within bounds to say that unproductive land ought to have increased from 10 to 12 per cent. in value every year to have been as profitable as other investments.

A cable telegram says that the British delegates to the International Monetary Conference are instructed not to discuss any proposals which involve a change in the monetary system of England, nor to give their assent to any plans whatever, without the assent of the Government. The scope of their powers is limited to proposals under which India might join an influential group of States in adopting bimetallism at a fixed ratio. In case such an arrangement should be effected, the Bank of England would be advised by the Government to keep one-fifth of its legal reserves in silver, as its charter authorizes. These preliminaries are almost identical with those with which England entered the conference of 1881. They are absolutely null as regards any participation by England herself in bimetallism. They foretell the failure of the Conference, because Ger-

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many, who looks upon the whole thing as a bore, will say that she can do nothing without the coöperation of England, and Austria will say that she can do nothing without the coöperation of Germany, and so on. The Conference will then naturally fall back on Senator Jones of Nevada, who will, no doubt, go prepared for any emergency.

The reported dissatisfaction of the Radical wing of the Liberal party with the make-up of Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet appears to have no real justification. Mr. Gladstone again and again pledged himself in Parliament and in his campaign speeches to give home rule the first place in the Liberal programme, and if any body of voters supported him on the understanding that he would not do what he had promised, they have only themselves to thank for their disappointment. The surprising and tricky thing would have been the choice of a Cabinet which was not constituted primarily to carry home rule. Moreover, the Radical Liberals who want to see reformatory legislation for England—revision of the electoral and land laws, for example—have no reason to complain of the assurances given them by the new Prime Minister in his speech on the no-confidence motion the other day. He said as plainly as possible that he would not consent to the dissolution of Parliament until, in addition to the passage of a home-rule bill, it had given due attention to important measures of reform for England. It thus comes down simply to a matter of the offices and "recognition," and we should say that the Radicals could not afford to put themselves in the attitude of caring more for some figure-heads in the Cabinet than for the particular items of reform legislation which they are in a fair way to secure as it is.

Aside from the home-rule bearings of the personnel of the Cabinet, the most important appointment is that of Earl Rosebery as Foreign Secretary. It is likely that many delicate international questions will confront the new Government, and it is essential that the foreign policy of the United Kingdom should be conducted not only on careful and conservative but on continuous lines. To such a policy Earl Rosebery has publicly committed himself, and it is not to be expected, therefore, that there will be any new departures in Egyptian affairs or anywhere else. One exception, however, the new Secretary may well make to his announced purpose to follow the lines marked out by his predecessor. We refer to the long-standing territorial dispute with Venezuela. When Minister for Foreign Affairs in the foregoing Liberal Cabinet, he had made a definite agreement to submit the controversy to arbitration; but when Lord Salisbury came in, he repudiated the agreement, on account, we believe, of some fancied personal slight. It would be fortunate if the negotiation could now be put back where it was before and a peaceful settlement of a troublesome question arrived at. Earl Rosebery has been said by an admiring fellow-Scotchman "not to be stupid enough to be a great man." It remains to be seen if his alertness and humor will not save him from blunders into which a more ponderous man might fall.

An important question in regard to an author's rights is involved in a case recently passed upon in the English courts. In 1886, Mr. Sidney Lee, the well-known editor of the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' sold the copyright of his Life of Lord Herbert of Cherbury to a London publisher, who issued it in that year. Since then the copyright has been sold to another publisher, who brought out the work this year in a mutilated form—the entire preface and several passages being omitted. Action was brought to restrain him from putting the volume on the market in that form. The author contended that the publication in the abridged form, without any intimation that it was an abridgment, was damaging to his reputation, as was also the placing of the date 1892 on a work written six years earlier, inasmuch as it gave him the appearance of having neglected material brought to light in the interval. The Justice held that he could not pass upon the moral question involved, though he pretty plainly intimated his opinion that the publisher had violated the proprieties, but decided that "there is no law compelling a man to publish the whole of the work because he has the copyright on the whole." But the question of injury to an author's reputation was distinct, he held, and for such injury the remedy is an action for libel. Mr. Lee, however, declined to pursue the matter further, as he had already accomplished his main object, which was to show publicly that he washed his hands of the book in its new form, and so the case was dropped. It was made clear, nevertheless, by the language of the Court and by the testimony of distinguished publishers called for the plaintiff, that an action for libel could have been maintained successfully; and thus the case will, after all, serve as a warning to publishers against too free cutting and hacking of an author's work.

The subject of State insurance has naturally been prominent in the discussions of the Economic Science section of the British Association, the President, Sir Charles Freemantle, examining the operation of the German law, and considering the arguments advanced in England in support of a similar scheme. His conclusion is highly unfavorable to any plan of the kind. The law is extremely odious in Germany, and a movement to effect its repeal is said to have started in Bavaria. Moreover, the mutual-aid societies have ceased to exist, or have been greatly crippled, while dishonesty has been fostered by the requirements of the act. As to France, the bill brought forward by the Government last year appears to have succumbed to the destructive criticism of the economists, for nothing more has been heard of it. As to the English schemes, the President condemns that of Mr. Charles Booth for the enormous cost of administration which it would involve and for the openings it would offer to fraud; and like objections apply to modifications of this scheme. On the other hand, Sir Charles Freemantle was inclined to give up the idea of Government help and intervention altogether, and he cited instances where the abolition or reduction to a minimum of out-door relief had produced the best results. If the methods adopted in these cases were universal, it is probable that the number of paupers over sixty years of age could be reduced one-half.

One of the many advantages of protection over free trade is well known to be the ease with which, after having triumphantly shut foreigners out of your market, you can let them in by means of commercial treaties. Free-trade countries have no concessions to offer, and so can hope to secure none, and are thus left in the wretched condition of getting all their imports free and cheap without the consolation of a single treaty to raise the price of some of them. Recent diplomatic negotiations of France with Switzerland and Spain would indicate, however, that even the course of protection does not run so smooth as we have been assured that it would in the matter of reciprocal trade arrangements. France offered Switzerland her minimum tariff in return for most-favored-nation treatment, and the Swiss were quite ready to strike a bargain on that basis, provided only that they could get a little shading from the minimum tariff on certain articles—embroideries, silks, clocks and watches, etc. But this was altogether horrifying to the French. Their minimum tariff was a sacred thing, the very rock-foundation of their whole protective system, and not a flake could be chipped off of it. Meanwhile, the Spanish negotiators were making a very similar reply to French demands. Spain had offered minimum tariff for minimum tariff, but no, said the French, your minimum tariff is quite outrageous in several particulars, and we shall have to have reductions on as many as sixty-five articles before we can consider the exchange a fair one. To this Spain would not listen, asserting that her minimum was absolutely minissimum, and there the negotiations hang, leaving these two high-protection countries in almost as helpless and ridiculous a plight as unhappy and treatyless England.

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RIOT AND PROTECTION.

THE extraordinary spectacle presented to the American people during the past week of four States of the Union with their militia in whole or in part simultaneously in the field to suppress riots and prevent bloodshed, ought to win the attention of thoughtful citizens to some of the deeper causes of the phenomenon. No form of government nor fiscal policy in modern civilization can boast of freedom from labor troubles passing into violence. The spirit of trades unionism is essentially monopolistic and prescriptive, and has often shown itself as lawless, if not as audacious, as in the recent outbreaks. Yet it remains a fair subject of inquiry whether this intolerant temper of labor organizations, and their determination to break down and destroy all competition, have not been aggravated, if not justified, in this country by the dominant course of our national legislation.

Everybody has been interested in the details and development of these gigantic strikes, but only a few have given a second thought to contemporaneous occurrences which are really as significant as the strikes and help to explain them. Last week, for example, an invoice of rugs and carpets was refused a landing in this city by our customs officials, and had to be shipped out of the country. It appeared that they were the manufacture of convict labor in Austria. We have a law which forbids the importation of convict-made goods. This is a law we glory in, as showing our tender care for our own workingmen: we will not subject them to competition with convicts. Out in Tennessee, the miners say they will not be subject to such competition either, and proceed to shoot any one who says they shall. Why should we condemn in them the thing which we commend in ourselves? If they are executing our own teaching, and bettering the instruction in the way rude men have of making laws with rifles instead of lobbying a bill through Congress, what occasion have we to be so greatly astonished?

Probably not a week has passed since the McKinley laws went into effect that attempts have not been made, and usually with success, to get imported goods put into the highest possible classification so as to lay as heavy a tax upon them as possible. But a few days ago, for example, there was great rejoicing over the failure of a certain firm to get through a large invoice of unfinished dress goods at a low rate. This was a victory for home manufacturers and working people. The tariff is designed to keep our laboring classes from competition with those of other countries. The work of this country is theirs, and no one else shall have a share in it if we can make laws stringent enough to prevent it. If that policy, long avowed and now wrought into our legislation, is not a direct endorsement of the monopoly-loving and competition-hating spirit of trades unions, we should like to be told why not. The Homestead workingmen agree with the Tennessee and Idaho miners and the Buffalo switchmen in carrying out the doctrine of protection to its logical results—only, as they are not fortunate enough to control the law-making power, they have to break heads and wreck cars and burn stockades instead of passing tariff bills.

This cannot be dismissed as mere surmise. The workingmen themselves hold language which shows whence they get their inspiration. The Homestead men flatly say that if protection is for their benefit, they mean to have it, peaceably or forcibly. John Jarrett calls for a law forbidding one employer to pay lower wages than another in the same business, all in the interest of the protective principle. Grand Master Switchman Sweeney has the jargon to perfection. He stands for the elevation and protection of labor. His men are Americans, accustomed to the American scale of wages and living, while the wretched beings whom the companies would put in their places are debased and pauper foreigners, whose competition is ruinous and cannot be endured. So it is all through. The laboring men of this country have been so long assured that they have rights and privileges with which no others can be allowed to interfere, that it would be a special wonder if they had not laid the lesson to heart and begun to make all sorts of logical applications of it. Protection is not responsible for trades unionism; but it is responsible, if any reliance can be placed upon human testimony and reasoning, for the lengths to which trades unionism has gone in this country—for its vehement assertion of the right and justice of monopoly, for its treatment of a competitor as a public enemy, and particularly for the arguments with which it seeks to sustain its course.

The home market for manufacturers has been so long and earnestly preached that it is not strange to find workingmen crying up the need of a home market for labor. A striking letter from a correspondent who declared himself "a workingman, a protectionist, and a Republican," appeared in the *Tribune* of August 8. In it the following pointed queries were put:

> "Does not competition control the price of all products, natural and artificial? If competition does so control products, does not competition also control the price of labor? If competition controls the price of labor, what protection has the workman of to-day under the law known as the McKinley Law, outside the increased demand for labor by the introduction of the new industry known as the manufacturing of terne and tin plates? Is it not a fact that the workmen's share of protection is decided by the competition among them for places to work, the same as the quantity of manufactured or natural products of a like kind is decided by the number of purchasers for a given quantity for sale? Is the law excluding the Chinese from the country constitutional? Presuming it is, would not laws prohibiting other nationalities also be? Would not a tariff placed on immigration be a direct protection to the workmen, and, in fact, their only protection, except that voluntarily given by the employers of labor?"

The writer added his conviction that "our platform would be many thousand votes stronger did it advocate a tariff on foreign emigration." The editor endeavored to soothe this troubled inquirer, and to prove to him that such a tariff "has not yet been found necessary," by asserting that wages have risen in spite of unlimited immigration; but we fear the logical mind will not be put off in that way. If wages have risen with immigration, how much higher they would have gone without it. Besides, if the principle is admitted, as it virtually is by the *Tribune* in its "not yet," why not apply it and make the tariff really "symmetrical"?

Political principles have an ugly way of extending themselves, however carefully their inventors may try to restrict their application. If monopoly is good for employers, it will be hard to make workingmen think it is bad for them. If competition is deadly to the former, the latter cannot be wrong in trying to escape from it. In short, if manufacturers have had full swing with protection for thirty years, it ought not to surprise them if workingmen are demanding their turn and insisting upon their understanding of the great doctrine.

LIGHT ON THE LABOR PROBLEM.

To a superficial observer, the events of the last few months in this country might seem to indicate that the "labor problem" was further from solution than ever. But the darkest hour is just before dawn, and, in spite of the violence of the recent outbreaks, there are many reasons for supposing that an era of comparative peace may be at hand. The most important of these reasons is the change in the course of the civil authorities. In previous labor troubles they very generally neglected their duties from political cowardice, and the labor organizations came to count upon such delay in maintaining order as gave them a great advantage in their contests with their employers. But the military force has been so promptly called out and so effectively handled this summer that comparatively little property has been destroyed by rioters, and the knowledge that the whole power of the State will probably hereafter be exerted to prevent the interruption of business will tend strongly to discourage the turbulent. Hitherto, it might almost be said, the attitude of the Government has been such as to put a premium upon violent methods on the part of strikers and their sympathizers, but there is every indication that that day has passed.

This change in the conduct of the executive officers of government is due to a change in public sentiment. There has been no diminution in the amount of sympathy for manual laborers, or in the desire that they should improve their condition in every way possible. But there is far more discrimination exercised upon the subject than formerly. Strikes and boycotts are looked upon with increasing disfavor, as

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tending to injure laborers rather than to improve their condition; trade unions are now seen to be organizations of dubious character, attempting to get advantages for their members at the expense of outside laborers, and there is a general recognition of the truth that many of the hardships of laborers are due to their own misconduct. Indeed, one of the more intelligent of the labor leaders is reported as saying that the failure of their movements was due to the number of rascals among the labor organizations. Upon the whole, it may be said that the presumption has ceased to be in favor of laborers in their controversies with their employers; the public now will know what their claims and what their methods are before granting its sympathy.

It would be an interesting research to disinter the newspaper judgments of a few years ago, at the time of the strikes on the horse-car lines in this city, for instance, and compare them with the current newspaper opinion; but the same lesson is taught by a more recent occurrence. At the outbreak of the Homestead troubles, the New York *World* took it for granted that the popular demand would be for fierce denunciation of employers and violent support of "labor," and shaped its course accordingly. But it found that the *Sun*, which had seen the error of its former ways and most vigorously assailed "labor" and defended the employers, was gaining a great advantage over it, and it has within a short time entirely changed its tone. Over the outbreak at Buffalo it roars as gently as any sucking dove. Hardly anything could be more significant of the real state of public opinion than this change of newspaper policy.

The resumption by the civil authorities of their normal function of keeping the peace operates in another way unfavorably to the campaign plans of organized labor. It removes their great grievance, the employment of "Pinkerton's men." It is true that this was a purely sentimental grievance, as it could make no difference to rioters whether they were shot by Pinkerton's men or by the militia; but still it was a grievance. They are now reduced to complaining, in behalf of the taxpayers, of the expense of supporting an army of soldiers; but as they objected to the employment of Pinkerton's men, who were hired by private persons and cost the taxpayers nothing, it is evident that their real ground of complaint is not the character or cost of the force that keeps the peace, but the fact that there is any such force employed. The taxpayers, having in mind the bill that was presented to them in Pennsylvania on account of the work of the mob in 1877, will probably dispense with suggestions from this quarter. However this may be, if our governments, as now seems probable, are going to do their duty hereafter, Pinkerton's men will disappear with the necessity that called them into being, and organized labor will have to win on the merits of its own case, and not through the odium of the defensive measures of the employers.

Since such a change has taken place in the disposition of the executive officers of Government, is it unreasonable to suppose that legislatures may be found to be more amenable to reason than hitherto? There is much talk of the difficulty of "solving the labor problem," but so far as solving the problem of strikes upon railroads is concerned, there is no difficulty about it except what is caused by the Government. The public interest requires that a railroad engineer or fireman or trainman should not abandon his work without reasonable notice. This is not a matter that affects railroad managers and their men alone, and there is no constitutional reason why the State should not regulate it. As it is, a railroad company may make a contract with a man that he shall not leave its service except after due notice, but the State practically refuses to enforce the contract. The company may of course sue the man for damages if he breaks his agreement, but the remedy is worthless. Let the violation of such a contract be made a misdemeanor, and we shall have an end of these outrageous interruptions of the business of the country.

Even without this remedy the law of conspiracy might be invoked, but it is not a suitable remedy for the evil, and its application would be difficult and unpopular. Where employers have dealt directly with trade unions in making their contracts for labor, and these unions have struck in violation of their agreement, it would seem that actions would lie against them, and that, as they have funds, judgments might be collected. One such judgment would be a most valuable lesson to laborers, teaching, what very many of them ignore, that contracts fairly entered into cannot be broken with impunity. But, as has been often urged, the proper remedy for the particular disorder from which the railroads suffer is suggested by their legal status. The State controls them, prescribing what they shall charge and how they shall conduct their business. Being thus creatures of the State and its agents, the State can prescribe the terms upon which employees shall be engaged, and in the exercise of its police power it can make it an offence for any employee to obstruct traffic by unreasonably leaving his work before the term for which he contracted to labor has expired. A short time ago such a law could not have been passed, but it is evident that the public are now ready for it, and the party that has courage to adopt such a measure will find that it has abundant popular support.

THE BALLOT IN MISSISSIPPI.

THE Constitutional Convention which met in Mississippi two years ago devoted the larger share of its time and thought to the consideration of means for eliminating the ignorant negro vote. The method finally adopted received the hearty support of ex-Gov. Alcorn and ex-Chief-Justice Simrall, who represented the white Republicans, and of Isaiah T. Montgomery, an ex-slave, who represented the colored Republicans. The object of intelligent men, white and black, Republicans and Democrats, was clearly stated at the time by ex-Gov. Alcorn, who wrote:

> "The Convention was called with a view of devising some means of putting a check in the text of the Constitution upon ignorance and corruption. The people felt the sting of the North in the continued charge of forcible domination in the South of the ballot-box. The desire to free themselves from this charge, which they felt in some degree to be true, and the wish to devise some means more in accord with civilization and statesmanship to save themselves from the impending ruin, led to the calling of the Convention."

Mr. Montgomery, who was a member of the Committee on Suffrage, concurred in its report, which was adopted by the Convention. Its main feature was the requirement of an educational qualification and of the prepayment of a poll-tax in order to entitle a man to vote. It was expected that this would result in an immense reduction of the negro vote, as the larger part of the race are too ignorant to pass the educational test, and many of those who could pass it do not care enough about voting to pay $2 for the privilege. Mr. Montgomery agreed with ex-Gov. Alcorn and ex-Chief-Justice Simrall that it would be better for all concerned if the members of his race did not vote until they knew enough to read the Constitution, and were interested enough in the suffrage to be ready to pay a poll-tax.

The first registration under the new Constitution has recently been completed, and it shows that the negro vote has been as fully eliminated as was expected and desired by the colored and white Republicans who helped to frame it. The number of whites registered is 68,127, and the number of negroes only 8,615. The colored males of voting age number about 147,000, while there are only about 110,000 whites of the same class. In other words, only one negro in every seventeen is registered, while two whites out of every three are on the list. Although there are many counties in which the negroes greatly outnumber the whites, there is not a single one where the colored vote this year will be more than "scattering."

Some Republican organs in the North are complaining that it is not fair to allow Mississippi her present representation in Congress and in the Electoral College while her number of voters is so small. The Springfield (Mass.) *Union*, for example, says that the 76,742 registered voters of Mississippi are represented in the Presidential election by nine electoral votes, while the 335,747 in Massachusetts are represented by only fifteen electoral votes, so that each elector in the Southern State represents 8,527 voters, while

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each in the Northern stands for 22,383 voters. "Thus," it says, "a Mississippi voter has nearly three times as much influence in the election of a President as a Massachusetts voter." The *Union* says further:

"We have no quarrel with the educational qualification in Mississippi. Fairly administered it would be a good thing, and would promote education. But we do object to this relic of the old slaveholder's claim that he should be allowed to represent the slave population in Congress and in the election of President. If the white voters of Mississippi are determined not to accord civil rights to the negroes, the whites should not be allowed to represent the negroes. The North has been cheated in this way about long enough, and it is time that we had a little of the English Liberal principle of 'one man, one vote,' in this country."

Republican organs which talk in this way do not appear to understand the basis upon which representation in Congress, and therefore in the Electoral College, is fixed by the Constitution. Section 2 of Article 14 provides that "Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed." It is not a question of the possible number of voters, or of the actual number; it is simply a question of the actual number of persons—men, women, and children. There are proportionally a great many more women in Massachusetts than in the newer States of the West, but that does not affect the representation of the State in Congress. If nine out of every ten men in the State to-day were to leave it, and the same number of women came in their places, the State would still have the same number of votes in Congress and in the Electoral College, although not one of those women could cast a ballot for either representative or President.

In asking how many Congressional and electoral votes Massachusetts and Mississippi shall have when a new apportionment is made, as by the last Congress, the question is not how many males each State has who do vote or may vote, but how many men, women, and children (excluding Indians not taxed) it has. It is, indeed, true that the Constitution provides that when the right to vote is denied to any of the male inhabitants of a State over twenty-one years old who are citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, "the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens, twenty-one years of age, in such State." But this provision has no applicability to such regulations as those in Massachusetts and Mississippi, requiring a citizen to pass an educational test and pay a poll tax before voting, any more than to the regulations in this State which prevent a man from casting a ballot unless his name is on the registry list a certain length of time before the election. The State does not deny a man the right to vote when it tells him that he must learn to read, or that he must pay a tax, or that he must go through the process of registration, in order to exercise it, so long as any such regulation applies to all men, as is the case in these respects in Massachusetts, New York, and Mississippi.

Undoubtedly the present situation in Mississippi is abnormal and exceptional. It is also certain to be temporary. The time will come when most of the negroes will learn to read and will care enough for the suffrage to pay a two-dollar tax for the privilege of exercising it. Until that time comes it is the opinion of the wisest Republicans in Mississippi of both races that it is best for the State that the negroes should not vote, and outsiders may well accept their judgment as to the matter.

HARRISONIAN FOREIGN POLICY.

THE break of the Republican party with the college professors of the country on the tariff question is, of course, easily explainable on the theory of their contamination by English literature and British gold. Why they should also differ with the great Republican lights on questions of international law is not so clear. The fact remains, however, that as soon as the professors come to pass upon the acts and attitude of President Harrison's Administration which relate to foreign affairs, they concur in condemning both the decisions arrived at and the legal arguments upon which those decisions are made to rest. Prof. Theodore S. Woolsey, who holds the chair of International Law in Yale University, is the latest to join the unpatriotic ranks. He has an article in the last number of the *Yale Review* entitled "An Inquiry concerning our Foreign Relations," in which he demonstrates, as we are sure he will soon be told by high Republican authority, his unfitness not only for such a professorship in any American institution, but even for the position of international law editor on any great American paper.

His "Inquiry" is a perfectly dispassionate examination of the facts and the law, without a trace of political bias or allusion. He begins by referring to the unusual number of "controversies with foreign Powers which have arisen of late," and says that "the question has presented itself whether one main cause has not led to all of them, and if so, whether this does not indicate a change of foreign policy." He then proceeds to an analysis of the actions and contentions of our Government in the Bering Sea controversy, in the Barrundia affair, and in the various phases of the Chilian dispute. In every instance he cites undisputed facts and the recorded legal arguments of the Administration, and simply asks whether those arguments are in accord with the general principles of international law.

In the controversy over sealing in Bering Sea, he says that "the real question" is whether its regulation can be established by this country "through force as a matter of right." Our famous contention that we "own" the seals, he dismisses by laying down the doctrine that "wild animals unenclosed" "can be owned by nobody." And the pet *bonos mores* of Messrs. Blaine and Phelps he rather contemptuously describes as "a meaningless phrase, upon which no rights of capture can be founded." The whole case he finally sums up in the following bit of lucid and unanswerable reasoning:

"The Bering Sea is part of the high seas, and sealing beyond the three-mile limit in it can be prevented only by an exercise of sovereignty over it. Such right of sovereignty we denied to Russia. Such right we now claim, as derived from Russia. Such right, if Russia possessed it, could only be an incident to the ownership of the coasts, and could not exist and be conveyed independently. There is no evidence of an attempt to convey it independently. Its territorial right in a portion of the coast bordering the Bering Sea, does not give this country exclusive jurisdiction over the said sea for a certain purpose, or for any purpose. Our fishery disputes with Canada, the precedents in our own history, maritime law, common sense, all discredit the idea. It is a great and an undue stretch of the jurisdiction of the United States to capture twelve ships and warn off a great many more for engaging in a species of fishery many miles from land."

In his discussion of the Barrundia affair, Prof. Woolsey uses the same method of impartial inquiry as to fact and impersonal application of the recognized practice of international law. His finding is that "both Commander Reiter and Mr. Mizner, judged by the rules and precedents of international law, acted with absolute propriety. And yet their action proved so unacceptable to their Government that the one was recalled and the other removed from his command with a reprimand." As in the Bering Sea case, the Professor notices here "a marked extension of the jurisdiction claimed by the United States. It announces to its naval officers the duty of protecting all political refugees sailing under its merchant flag, even when within the waters of the country to which those refugees belong, by strategy if not by force—the duty of bringing asylum to them, instead of permitting them to seek it. This was destined to bear fruit."

That fruit he finds in the Chilian imbroglio. The seizure of the *Itata* was "improper," because she was engaged in a "purely commercial transaction" and was "in no sense fitting out an armed expedition." And the sensational chase by the *Charleston* he declares to be "absolutely novel" in international practice. "A State at peace has no jurisdiction over the ships of other nationalities on the high seas, except on suspicion of piracy. Such a stretch of jurisdiction on the part of the most powerful State on this continent must necessarily appear an alarming matter to all its neighbors." Turning to the right of asylum demanded by Mr. Egan, under instructions from Washington, for the Balmacedists, Prof. Woolsey shows it to have been "excessive" when the almost

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uniform policy of our Government is made the test. And the refusal to accept the findings of the Chilian courts, and the setting up of an *ex-parte* naval tribunal in San Francisco and basing action upon its findings, he characterizes as "a fresh example of the enlarged view of our rights of sovereignty to which we are fast accustoming our people, and in which we are training our navy."

It is this "attempt on the part of the Government to stretch its claim of jurisdiction unduly" that Prof. Woolsey finds to be the constant element and tendency in all the instances he has examined. Asking what this means and will involve, he closes his paper with words which ought always to be printed in parallel columns with Republican platform glorification of the honor won the "flag" by the present Administration, and with every valiant stump speech on the same subject:

> "It means in the first place a departure from the old and safe policy of the fathers. It means courting rather than avoiding foreign entanglements. It means one collision after another, each with its sulphurous war-cloud about it. It means the vio ation of former precedents, setting up new ones in their stead which may prove awkward, even dangerous. It will encourage aggressions upon weak neighbors. It will make this country hated and distrusted by its natural friends. It will weaken its commercial position on this continent, throwing trade into other channels than our own. . . . And again, what will this new policy, if persisted in, involve? If we assume an advanced position, we must be prepared to maintain it. We shall need a larger army; a navy of the first rank; an increase of taxation to pay for these; a reversal of our military and naval policy to maintain them."

We have not quoted the weighty words of this high authority simply because they confirm throughout the position taken by this paper in each of these controversies. Personal gratification goes for very little beside the sense of a great public service rendered by this honored son of an honored father. He speaks for the educated and sane opinion of the country. He represents that tribunal—the tribunal of history—before which all political intrigues and partisan scheming must ultimately be judged. Politicians may boast that they can carry elections and "make history" in spite of all the professors; but, after all, it is the professors who write history, and, just as in the pages of Adams and McMaster the little-great politicians of the past find their pillory, so will their fellows of to-day in the impartial records yet to be made by other college professors.

ROBERT LOWE, LORD SHERBROOKE.

LONDON, August 10, 1892.

HAD Robert Lowe died twenty-five years ago, his death would have been a political event of the first magnitude; but to-day hardly anybody under forty years of age knows who Lord Sherbrooke was, and the new generation wonder why their seniors feel any interest in the disappearance of an undistinguished peer whose name has long since ceased to be heard in either the literary or the political world. It requires an effort to believe that he was at one time held the equal in oratory and the superior in intellect of Mr. Bright and Mr. Gladstone. There are few instances in our annals of men who have been equally famous and whose fame has been bounded by so short a span out of a long life. No one who knew him ever doubted his abilities. He made a brilliant reputation at Oxford, where he was the contemporary and more than the peer of Roundell Palmer (now Lord Selborne) and Archibald Tait (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury). When he left the University, where anecdotes of his ready and caustic wit were long current, he tried his fortune at the bar, but with such scant success that he presently emigrated to New South Wales, soon rose to prominence and unpopularity there, returned in ten years with a tolerable fortune, became a leading-article writer on the *Times*, entered Parliament, but was little heard of till Lord Palmerston gave him the place of Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education, from which he was presently driven by an attack, now admitted to have been unfair, of Lord Robert Cecil (now Lord Salisbury). His fame dates from 1865, when he appeared as the trenchant critic of a measure for extending the Parliamentary franchise in boroughs, introduced by a private member. Next year, however, his powers shone forth in their full lustre. The Liberal Ministry, led in the House of Commons by Mr. Gladstone, had brought in a Franchise Extension Bill which excited the dislike of the more conservative or more timid among their supporters. This dislike might not have gone beyond mutterings but for the vehemence with which Mr. Lowe opposed the measure. He fought against it in a series of speeches which produced a greater impression in the House of Commons, and roused stronger feelings of admiration and hostility in the country, than perhaps any other political addresses have done in the present century. The new luminary rose so suddenly to the zenith and cast so unexpected a light that everybody was dazzled; and though many dissented, few ventured to criticise. The surprising effect of these speeches of 1866 can hardly be understood by any one who does not know how commonplace and practical the general tone of Parliamentary debating is in our time.

Parliament then contained, and even now contains, a great many capable lawyers, capable men of business, capable country gentlemen; many men who can express themselves with clearness, fluency, and good sense. Few, however, are able to produce finished rhetoric; still fewer have a range of thought and knowledge extending much beyond the ordinary education of a gentleman and the ordinary ideas of a politician; and the assembly is usually so intolerant of rhetoric, and so much inclined to treat, as unpractical, facts and arguments drawn from recondite sources, that even those who possess out-of-the-way learning are disposed, and rightly so, to use it very sparingly. In Robert Lowe, however, a remarkable rhetorical and dialectical power was combined with a command of branches of historical, literary, and economic knowledge so unfamiliar to the average member as to have for him all the charm of novelty. The rhetoric was sometimes too elaborate. The political philosophy was not always sound. But the rhetoric was so taking that no one could fail to enjoy it; and the political philosophy was put in so terse, bright, and pointed a form that it made the ordinary country gentleman fancy himself a philosopher while he listened to it or repeated it to his friends at the club. The speeches, which were not so much directed to the particular measure as an indictment of democratic government in general, had the great advantage of expressing what many had felt, but few had ventured to say, and of being delivered from one side of the House and cheered by the other. No position gives a speaker in the House of Commons such a vantage ground, because the phenomenon is comparatively rare, and because nothing so much annoys a party and gratifies its antagonists as when one of its own recalcitrant members attacks it in flank. When one looks back now at the contents of these speeches—there were only five or six of them—and is surprised at their success, this favoring circumstance, and the whole temper of the upper class, which was beginning to acquire those Tory habits of thought which it has since so much developed, need to be remembered. In themselves, as pieces of "civil wisdom," the speeches are not first-rate. No one would dream of comparing them to Burke's, either in originality or in weight. But for the moment they were far more appreciated than Burke's were by the House of his time, which thought of dining while he thought of convincing. Robert Lowe was for some months an intellectual idol. I recollect to have been in those days at a breakfast party given by an eminent politician and nominal supporter of the Liberal Ministry, and to have heard the leader of the *Saturday Review* set, an able writer who was a sort of literary and political oracle of the set, deliver, amid general applause, including that of the host, the opinion that Lowe was an intellectual giant compared to Mr. Gladstone, and that the reputation of the latter had been virtually extinguished. This period of glory, which was enhanced by the fall of Lord Russell and Mr. Gladstone from power in June, 1866, lasted till Mr. Lowe, who was now of course a force to be counted with, obtained office as Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Liberal Ministry which came in in the end of 1868. From that moment his position declined. He lost popularity and influence both with the country and in the House of Commons. His speeches were always able, but they did not seem to tell when delivered from the ministerial bench. His financial proposals, though often ingenious, usually roused opposition. Before he left office in 1874 he had ceased to be a force in politics. He did nothing to retrieve his fame during the six years of opposition that followed, and in 1880 was relegated to the House of Lords, because the new Liberal Government of that year could not make room for him. Very soon thereafter his memory began to fail, and for the last ten years he has been quite forgotten. There is hardly a parallel in our politics.

This sudden and complete obscuration of one whose reputation was genuine, because his intellectual powers were really great, requires some explanation. One cause was a purely physical one. He was excessively short-sighted, so that when he wrote, his nose was apt to rub out the words his pen had traced, and he was therefore shut out from all that knowledge of men and of audiences which is to be obtained by watching their faces. For social purposes he might almost as well have been blind; yet he did not receive that kind of indulgence which is extended to the blind. The other cause was moral. Without being ill-natured, he was a hard-natured man, never appearing to consider the feelings of others. He was not unkindly, and he certainly did not, as was believed of another brilliant contemporary, Lord Westbury, positively enjoy the giving of pain. But he had boundless scorn for the slow and the dull and

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the unenlightened, and he never restrained his swift and scorching wit merely for the sake of sparing those who came in his way. Instances are not wanting of men who have maintained great influence in spite of their rough tongues and the enmities which rough tongues provoke. But such men have usually also possessed some of the arts of popularity, and have been able to retain the adherence of their party at large, even when they had alienated many who came into personal contact with them. This was not Lowe's case. He did not conceal his contempt for the multitude, and had not the tact needed for humoring it, any more than for managing the House of Commons. The very force and keenness of his intellect kept him aloof from other people and prevented him from understanding their sentiments. He saw things so clearly that he could not tolerate mental confusion, and was apt to reach conclusions so fast that he missed perceiving some of the things which are gradually borne in upon slower minds. There was also a certain harshness, perhaps a certain narrowness, about his views. Even in those days of rigid economics, he took an exceptionally rigid view of all economic problems, refusing to make allowance for any motives except those of bare self-interest. He professed, and doubtless to some extent felt, a contempt for all appeals to historical or literary sentiment, and relished nothing more than deriding his own classical training as belonging to an effete and absurd view of education. He left his own mark on our elementary school system by establishing the system of payment by results, but nearly every change made in that system since his day has tended to destroy the alterations he made and bring back the older condition of things, though no doubt in an amended form. His ideas of University reform seemed limited to the extension of the plan of competitive examinations for honors and money prizes—a plan which more and more displeases the most enlightened of our University teachers, and is felt to have done more harm than good to Oxford and Cambridge, where it has had the fullest play.

It would not be fair to charge him with the results of his vigorous action against the extension of the suffrage in 1866, for no one could have then predicted that in the following year the Tories, beguiled by Mr. Disraeli, would reverse their former attitude and carry a suffrage bill far wider than that which they had rejected a year before. But the sequel of the successful resistance of 1866 may stand as a warning to those who think that the course of resolute opposition is likely, because it seems courageous, to be the right course for patriotic men. Had the moderate bill of 1866 been suffered to pass, the question would probably have slept for another thirty years, and England would still be ruled in the main by middle-class votes. The consequence of the heated contests of 1866 and 1867 was not only to bring about a larger immediate change, but to create an interest in the question which soon prompted the demand for the extension of household suffrage to the counties, and in 1885 completed the process by which England has become a democracy. Thus to Robert Lowe, as much as to Disraeli and Gladstone, is due the tremendous change which has passed upon this country since 1866, and the compass of which is only now beginning to be realized, while its ultimate effects upon the government of the country no one can predict. Lowe himself never recanted his views, but never repeated his declaration of them, feeling that he had incurred unpopularity enough. He had a bitter personal enemy in Disraeli, who once went out of his way to inflict upon him a personal humiliation, when Lowe had made an indiscreet speech; nor was the latter slow to take every opportunity of making Disraeli the target for his own sarcasm. They were not unequally matched. Intellectually Lowe was for most purposes the stronger man; but Disraeli had a skill in manipulating men and assemblies which gave him a far more enduring success, while his foe is chiefly remembered as one of those whose careers illustrate the old dictum that mere mental power is one of the smallest elements in the highest kinds of success. O. D.

GLADSTONE'S RETURN TO POWER.

London, August 11, 1892.

The debate with which the present Parliament opened had no importance until Tuesday afternoon, when Mr. Gladstone spoke and Mr. Balfour answered him, before a House crowded to its utmost capacity. Mr. Gladstone's voice was by no means what it used to be, or what it was even three years ago, when I heard him last; but whether this was the effect of advancing years, or of the cold from which he has been recently suffering and has not yet quite recovered, it was not possible for any one who does not see and hear him daily to judge. But even in a partially disabled condition, it is still a marvellous organ, for although he hardly raised it at all, it penetrated to every corner of the House, and was as audible to me in the gallery as if I were sitting beside him. But in another way I thought the effect of age was distinctly visible. The speech was, as regards matter, entirely worthy of his best days. The work he had to do was very delicate, for he had not only to "arraign," and "view with alarm," as we say, the doings of the Tories during the past seven years, but he had to produce something in the nature of an outline of what he would do himself when he came into office, more particularly touching the Irish question. All this called here and there for an emphasis of voice and manner which in olden times was never wanting, but which on this occasion he seemed to lack physical vigor to supply. The result was, that some of his best points were not driven home as they might have been, and in other days would have been, for his oratory has always abounded in fiery passages.

This defect was made the more apparent by contrast with the ringing tones in which Mr. Balfour, who followed, delivered his speech. His youthful, vigorous air when on his feet must, I thought, have suggested some rather melancholy reflections to the Liberals touching their own chief. For there is no getting away from the fact that, immense as Mr. Gladstone's value now is as a party leader, he has passed the period of those *longs espoirs et vastes pensées*, which are an essential part of the equipment of a statesman who supplies inspiration to a great political party. So that nobody can see or hear him without feeling deeply the cloud which his advanced age throws over the future of the English Liberals. The matter of his speech was admirable. It was as dexterous and eloquent as usual, and was marked by an elevation of tone and breadth of view which furnished its chief superiority over Mr. Balfour's reply. This reply was clever, I might say "smart" and incisive, but it was nearly all *tu quoque* and recrimination. He "cornered" the old man with real undergraduate truculence, by means of plenty of quotations from old speeches and letters. In fact, these quotations constitute the principal part of the Tory and Liberal Unionist ammunition. The importance attached to them is curious. Nearly all the English Liberals are recent converts to Home Rule, and ten years ago shared to the fullest extent the views on the Irish question now held by the Tories. Both sides of the House used to join with alacrity in passing Irish coercion bills, so that quoting old speeches against them is very like reminding a convert to Catholicism of the harsh things he used to say of the Pope in his Protestant days.

What has opened the eyes of the Liberal party, as well as Mr. Gladstone's, is the appearance in the House of Commons, under the extended suffrage, of the real representatives of the bulk of the Irish people, for the first time since the Union, and the demonstration that business cannot be done in a satisfactory way, in the existing state of British politics, as long as these eighty-five Irish members remain lodged as a foreign substance in the very entrails of the British body politic. That this would be one of the results of Home Rule if an Irish representation were retained at Westminster, as all are agreed must be the case, is now the chief Conservative argument against it. But the difficulty already exists. The Irish for the third time last night turned a British Ministry out of office on Irish questions. They turned Mr. Gladstone out in 1885. They turned Lord Salisbury out the same year. They turned him out again last night. So that one can hardly believe one's ears when one hears the cleverest men on the Conservative side predicting this state of things as one of the most-to-be-dreaded results of Home Rule, and therefore the strongest objection to it. On the Liberal side, on the other hand, it is, even in the minds of those who most dislike the Irish and are most indifferent to their wrongs, the strongest possible reason for setting them off by themselves in charge of their own affairs. What occurred last night was in fact a triumph and vindication of this view.

And a most exciting night it was. Only Mr. Gladstone, among the leaders, and Mr. Balfour spoke on Tuesday. The debate was adjourned, after some skirmishing, until Thursday, and it was agreed that the division should be then taken. The Ministry were all along anxious that the debate should be protracted, and the final trial of strength delayed, in spite of the eagerness of their rank and file to get away to the moors. The Liberals, on the other hand, were fully determined not to debate, to be content with Mr. Gladstone's statement, and to move on the enemy's works and compel a surrender at the earliest possible moment. Consequently last night they left all the talking to the Tories and the Liberal Unionists. Mr. Chamberlain opened the fray at four o'clock, before a House crowded to its utmost capacity, and there was a vague but ill-founded expectation that Sir William Harcourt would answer him. Mr. Chamberlain probably never did better in his life, and it was curious to see the delighted expectation with which the Tories, and especially the young "swells," watched his opening strokes, as he distributed little squirts of vitriol all around him, a drop or two on "Tim" Healy, a drop or two on Labouchere, on Harcourt, on Asquith, on Trevelyan, and a regular shower now and then on the Irish. A more perfect master of debate, in its lowest form, however, probably never was seen. All its tricks and devices are ready to his hand. Every interruption was

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turned to account in the deftest manner. He had a whole arsenal of foolish or inconsistent remarks that his enemies in bygone days had made, ready in his hat, and, after rubbing a little poison on each arrow, discharged it at his old friends with wonderful effect, amidst the uproarious applause and mirth of the Tories. If hatred and contempt were or could become, in these democratic days, great political forces, Mr. Chamberlain would have a great future. His face—to be just a little personal—greatly increases the effectiveness of his peculiar style of oratory, for one rarely sees a human countenance express these passions more vividly. As he turned now and then on the Irish who were behind him, his look was literally baleful, and, in the days of the "evil eye," would certainly have blasted the whole delegation with some atrocious stroke of "bad luck." He spoke for over an hour, with extraordinary cleverness, but I do not think I exaggerate when I say that there was not in the whole of his remarks one word of hope or conciliation for either the Irish or his old colleagues; not one suggestion, solemn as the occasion was, looking to any amicable or harmonious solution of the Irish problem, or to any future for it but a steady application of brute force to bridle discontent. At the end he tried to infuse a lyric strain into his peroration by making a sort of appeal to the Liberals, for the good of the country, not to turn the Tories out or assume office themselves, but the effect was almost ludicrous. The waters of rhetoric, like other waters, cannot be made to rise higher than their source, and a dry, cynical, and mocking nature cannot produce either pathos or solemnity at will.

These remarks are in a measure true of Mr. Balfour also. There is nothing in which Mr. Gladstone's superiority to them both is better shown than in the breadth of view and elevation of tone he manages to infuse into his speeches. All his argumentation on this Irish question points directly to the conclusion that the present state of it cannot last; that "force is no remedy"; that, even if it were, it is impossible, as has now been proved, to apply it indefinitely, owing to the state of British politics; that, in the modern world, great masses of men must be conciliated and cannot be driven; and that, as Burke said, "Your measures must be healing." I am constantly struck here by the resemblance of some phases of the mental condition of the Conservatives to that of the Northern Conservatives about slavery before the war—that is, they maintain that they could settle the Irish question if the other side would let it alone, as if the unwillingness or inability of the other side to let it alone were not part, and a most important part, of the problem to be solved, and as if the ridicule and insult heaped on the Irish for cherishing national sentiment were likely to kill it in days which have seen the Bulgarians and Serbians, after 400 years of Turkish slavery, rise in twenty years into respectable nationalities.

After Mr. Chamberlain's philippic, the debate fell into the hands of the minor men on both sides, and was for three or four hours addressed to empty benches. Among these minor men was a very considerable man in the world of finance and science—Sir John Lubbock—but, as if to confirm the popular impression about the difficulty of making politicians out of scientists, he inflicted on the House about an hour of the dreariest platitudes I have ever listened to, half read and half spoken, in a singsong and hardly audible voice. The interest of the occasion did not return till about ten, when the House was again crowded, and Sir Henry James, who shares with Mr. Chamberlain the honor of leading the Liberal Unionists, to the delight of the Tories and the surprise of the Liberals, took the floor, evidently in a high state of irritation, and proceeded for one hour to pour on the heads of the Gladstonians, and especially Mr. Asquith, a stream of evidently long-pent-up wrath, in answer to the accusation of political "perfidy" and "apostasy" which has been freely dealt out to him and his associates. Sir Henry James is a very distinguished lawyer, who has been Attorney-General under Gladstone, but he is also a very attractive man of the world and an orator of remarkable polish. He gave friends and foes on this occasion a great treat by a defence of, extraordinary fire and effectiveness, containing several pieces of invective of the first order, chiefly directed against Mr. Asquith and Sir William Harcourt. The latter was expected to reply, and when Sir Henry had finished, the shouts for him showed how keenly the House would have relished a set-to between two such renowned gladiators; but nothing could induce Sir William to depart from the Liberal policy of silence, and the disappointment was great.

The calls for a division now became very fierce, but the Tory whips reported that some of their men were still absent, and Mr. Chaplin, the Minister of Agriculture, was put up to fill the hour before midnight. What followed was extremely diverting. The House was crammed and the excitement was rapidly rising. The slightest incident called forth cheers and counter cheers, not hand-clapping or stamping, but the usual "Hear, hear!" roused into a prolonged roar of encouragement or defiance. Mr. Chaplin is a large, pompous Tory squire from Lincolnshire, with an immense sense of his own dignity and importance, as "a responsible minister of the Crown"; and the Liberals, and the Irish especially, rose at him as a lawful victim of their impatience. When he began another exposure of Mr. Gladstone's inconsistency by means of old quotations, there arose a tumult of which no description can give any idea. When he leaned over his notes or opened a book, a terrible wail of despair rent the air. When he wet his lips, the applause was frantic, and every sentence or clause of a sentence which could be twisted into a sign of conclusion brought down the house. The general mirth became finally overpowering, and not the least ludicrous feature of the scene was the solemnity with which a carefully attired row of foreign ministers and secretaries of legation, near whom I was seated, looked down on the riot. Either they did not understand English well enough to catch the humor of the occasion, or fancied they were witnessing the beginning of a revolution.

The fun grew faster and more furious as the hour wore on, Mr. Chaplin making a gallant fight. He could not make himself heard, but he did fill up the time, and at last Mr. Balfour pulled him down by his coat-tails, indicating that his men were all on the ground and the final moment was at hand. "Divide, divide," was shouted louder and louder from the Liberal side. The Speaker put the question, and was met by a mighty "Aye" and a mighty "No," in rapid succession. A division is called for, the tellers are appointed. Both sides file out to their respective lobbies. In a very few minutes, the result is announced—350 to 310—but everybody knew what it would be. Mr. Gladstone was one of the last to vote, and as he passed up the aisle to his place the Liberals all rose, most of them mounting the benches, and, hats in the air, gave him a tremendous and prolonged cheer, which, after welcoming him, took up the teller's announcement, and covered him with a storm of applause, through which he hurried somewhat shrinkingly to his seat, and which did not cease till Mr. Balfour rose to say what the Ministry would do. As he stood there, in the forefront of the crowd, a slight and nervous figure, evidently struggling to be calm, looking every inch a gentleman, with a half-shy, half-modest air, his followers gave him, all were pleased to see, the same kind of uproarious tribute Gladstone had received; and after he had moved an adjournment for a week, "after the very important division which had just taken place," the whole assemblage poured out into the cool night, the victors cheering Gladstone until the crowd outside took it up and roared him on his way home. But every one felt that he had witnessed one of the great historic scenes of English history—Gladstone returned to power for the fourth time, at the age of eighty-two, and an English Ministry driven from office for the third time by the Irish vote, which the Unionists have for seven years been trying to treat as a neglectable quantity.

E. L. G.

LEYDEN AND ITS ARCHIVES.

August 5, 1892.

Few cities in Europe are more interesting to the historical student than that in which the founders of New England received their political training. Here, during ten years of peace, in the truce between the little fighting republic and giant Spain, dwelt the Pilgrim Fathers. Here they saw, under their own eyes and in actual working, political principles and institutions which they transplanted to virgin shores and a larger field. Here one finds abundant and overwhelming evidence of the existence, centuries before their arrival, of things which our local writers of American history imagine were "invented" in New England. Here in the municipal archives one finds material for a tolerably full history of the Dutch life of the Plymouth men.

From the gallery in the tall broach-tower of the City Hall in Leyden, we took a bird's-eye view of the history of the municipality. A fair day and bright sunlight enabled us to discern the mighty minsters of the towns far and near, and to note the lines of greenery and water that make up the natural map beyond the masses of red tiles. Below us ran the Broad Street, originally the old Roman road to the sea. In front was the Rapenburg, its semicircular canal enclosing the space between it and the Rhine. This formed the ancient city which first received its name of Leythen in 960 A. D. Close at hand is the Burg or round castle of brick-work dating from Saxon, possibly from Roman times. It stands on the hill at the junction of the old and the new Rhine. In front the site of the castle of the Counts of Holland is visible, though now occupied by other edifices. High over all rises Saint Peter's Kerk, under the shadow of which was the Pilgrim settlement of twenty-two houses. This church, begun in 1121 and finished in 1315, was venerable-looking when the Pilgrims first saw it in 1610, and the crossed keys of the holy apostle still form the "arms" of the city. The two canals first cut for the washing of the wool preparatory to the making of the cloth for which the city has always been famous, have been multiplied, while the Rhine River, feeder of them all, has been trained and curbed so as to make many more avenues of water than there are bars to a gridiron. The wide enclosing moat no longer reflects the crenellated walls and lofty fortified gates. These

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were demolished a few years ago, but the great canal, with no fewer than fourteen indentations, shows where bastions formerly stood. Of St. Pancras Church, the University buildings, the old home of the Elzevirs, we have not space to tell.

Descending through the spider-like network of wires into the room where the rosy-cheeked player of the carillon is, with fists well sheathed in buckskin gloves, pounding the oaken keys of the music-board, we are soon below the merry bells which are just sounding "Auf Wiedersehen." The main part of the edifice was built several centuries before it received its present sculptured and heraldic front, which was entirely new when the Pilgrims first passed beneath it to declare intentions of marriage, or to consult land deeds and titles previous to purchasing property. Here are the large and numerous rooms devoted to the archives of Leyden, which are the richest of any city in Netherland, and possibly of any single city in Europe.

For the student of political and social science, these records are invaluable because so voluminous and so chronologically continuous. In the matter of the preservation of archives, Franklin's dictum holds good that "three moves are as bad as a fire." Amsterdam, for example, has suffered lamentably from both conflagrations and removals. Leyden, while undergoing siege, famine, gunpowder, explosion, and the ebb and flow of commercial fortune, has never moved her town hall or suffered loss by the flames. The various departments of municipal life, in monastic, feudal, imperial, republican, and monarchical eras, are here fully illustrated for the student. Already, though tons of papers have not been inspected, most of the matter has been arranged and classified by the accomplished Archivarius, Mr. C. M. Dozy. Of mediæval parchment land-leases duly sealed there are about 5,000. In many instances one can trace back the titles of land to the original grantee in the thirteenth century. One casually admires the excellent quality of the hand-made Dutch paper and rich black ink, legible after four or five centuries. The story of the land purchases, transfers, and sales of the Pilgrim Fathers is here open and legible, as well as the diagrams and entries made by their Dutch predecessors in business centuries before. In a word, here are practically the registries which the Plymouth men are traditionally believed to have invented and given to the United States.

As to the existence in Leyden of public schools for the common folk nearly 300 years before Robinson's company set foot in the city, the record is no less clear. Entirely separate from church or monastic schools, or private enterprise in pedagogics, we find for the years 1357, 1392, and 1399 records of the appointment by the municipality of teachers and sub-teachers for the city schools. Here are noted the appropriations of public money raised by taxation for the erection of buildings, the maintenance of schools, and the payment of salaries. We read also of protection guaranteed the master against the parents of bad boys whose cuticle may have been welted by too energetic application of birch. These continuous notices of appropriations and various matters of public-school economy occur frequently until the present time. While the children of those able to pay were to bring weekly a small sum to the treasury of the school, poor children were admitted and instructed free. The object of this free education as well as that given at a merely nominal price was "not only wisdom and cleverness, but good manners in church and on the street." In various museums in the country from the Dan of Leuwarden to the Beersheba of Flushing, as well as in the Dutch books, notably one entitled 'A Peep into the Old School World,' I have enjoyed seeing and reading about the text-books, rules, apparatus of correction and instruction, and general equipment of these public schools which were common in all Holland in the fifteenth century. Doubtless, also, the Pilgrims' children were trained in those of Leyden in the seventeenth century.

Among other treasures in the Leyden archives are a letter from the Pope in 1290, and an original copy of the Great Privilege of 1477. The records for 500 years and over of the tax-lists, public works, guilds, military and fire organizations, orphan asylums, alms-houses, homes for widows, widowers, and old men, aged couples, and that wonderful system of benevolence for which the Hollanders were and are still famous, are here for the examination of the student. They show that the Dutch were the teachers of Europe in systematic charity.

Those who would make researches into the history of federal government cannot afford to neglect Leyden. For, in addition to the magnificent and voluminous printed publications of the Resolutions of the States of Holland, there are rooms devoted to storage of the original papers illustrating the relation of the sovereign city of Leyden and of the state of South Holland to the central Government controlled by the States-General and the Stadholders. Somehow, to look at even a few of these documents made us remember that Mr. Freeman—possibly for reasons connected with the achievements of Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, and Thomas—failed to complete his History of Federal Government. We recalled, also, that Mr. Bancroft found that his personal knowledge of most European languages except that which most fully enshrines the actual history of a federal republic, did not avail for his treatise on the 'History of the Formation of the American Constitution.' He needed the Dutch and was obliged to have his work in Holland done by deputy. The historian who is yet to give us a worthy treatise on Federal Government cannot afford to neglect the country which gave us, as the framers of our Constitution expressly state, and repeatedly show in their writings, their "great example." To go from Leyden to dine at the house of the great-granddaughter of the Amsterdam banker who negotiated the loans, aggregating $14,000,000, to our country in 1780; to talk with the biographer of Van der Capellen, who, more than any one or many, secured the recognition of John Adams and of the independence of the United States; and to visit the great-grandson of Prof. Luzac of Leyden, the correspondent of Washington, Adams, and Jefferson, and the hearty advocate of American liberty—was but to emphasize to my mind the importance of Holland as the theatre of federal government.

From the record rooms where was the precious documentary history of the Pilgrims, showing not only their petitions, intentions of marriage, tax-lists, and business transactions, but also the proofs of their citizenship and political training in municipal and republican government, it was but a short walk to their old home. We shall not describe what is already familiar. In Clock Alley, alongside St. Peter's Church, one easily finds now the superb bronze tablet set in the outer wall, and unveiled last July with appropriate ceremonies, including a bilingual speech from the lamented Kuenen. Suffice it to say that this tablet is a memorial to the noble, self-effacing teacher, John Robinson, and the appropriate work of a single religious denominational body. It is not, nor was it intended to be, the tribute of the whole American people to the founders of New England. *That*, we trust, is yet to come. The city authorities of Rotterdam on July 11, 1892, at their own prompting, named the street in front of the spot at "Delfts Haven" whence the *Speedwell* sailed for America, *Pelegrim's Kade* (Pilgrim's Quay); and there, it is proposed, the memorial of the American people to the Pilgrim fathers and mothers shall rise. Delftshaven is now a component part of the great city of Rotterdam.

Since 1683, nearly thirty years after the last traces of the English Separatists had vanished from Leyden, the present edifice or Home for Aged Couples was erected by Jan Pesyn. Opening the gate, which is locked only at night, we step into a courtyard neatly planted with flowers, and lined on three sides with small brick houses in which the aged pensioners live. Just like these, though probably not so substantial, were the twenty-one houses in which Robinson's congregation lived, the pastor having the large house used also for a church. Here, in the flourishing city bustling with trade, and lively with English and Continental students (no fewer than 2,000 from Great Britain matriculating during the seventeenth century), tradesmen and soldiers (135 English families attending the English Presbyterian Church only a few rods away), the Pilgrim company lived in comparative comfort. They were lonely only as they may have chosen, for conscience' sake, to be so. "They stood on their own legs," as the librarian of the University remarked to me during one of several visits to Leyden. In this country, where most of the houses rest on piles and incline at any angle they please, the remark suggested independency of a radical sort. I notice that Baedeker speaks of Robinson as the "leader of the first *Puritan* (!) party banished from England," while in the corridor of the Houses of Parliament it is the *Mayflower* (!) that leaves Delftshaven for America.

To say nothing of the University library, the richest in Holland, there is now accessible to all Americans and others of Huguenot ancestry the Walloon library. It is situated at the head of the Klok Steeg, alongside of St. Peter's Church and close to the old Pilgrim's home. Besides the unique collection of books illustrating the origin, history, sufferings, and migrations of the Huguenots, there is a very full and minute slip-catalogue giving references to all known manuscript sources, such as church and town records of Walloons or Huguenots who have lived in Holland. To Americans interested in genealogical studies, or desirous of exploring their ancestry, this library, so accessible and well arranged, is invaluable.

With the archivist of Leyden, I walked down through the park where now stands the new monument to the heroic Burgomaster Van der Werff who ruled Leyden during the siege. On part of this field, long known as that of the Great Ruin—caused by the explosion of gunpowder in which the house of Elzevir was destroyed, and Luzac, the friend of Washington, Adams, and Jefferson, was killed—the University is now erecting new and spacious edifices. A few rods to the south is the gate and bridge first reached by the rescuing boats of the Water-Beggars, which had sailed over the farms flooded by cutting the dykes at Delftshaven. Close to this historic spot whence from the decks of the fleet were thrown up the herrings, cheeses, and loaves to the

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famished citizens on March 24, 1574, rises the new fire-proof building which is to contain Leyden's archives. The appropriation by the city of $26,000 is sufficient for a four-story edifice of brick and iron. In each room the shelves will rise no higher than for comfort, as no ladders will be used. Here, probably before the end of 1892, the rich historical treasures will be stored. Very appropriately the building fronts on Boisot Kade, the quay or street named after the brave commander of the Water-Beggars who relieved the starving city after the famous siege. It was past this quay, and through the canal and gate also, that the Pilgrims left the city that had sheltered them for ten years, on their journey to Delftshaven, and thence to America. No more appropriate place could be chosen wherein to enshrine the treasures of the past.

W. E. G.

Correspondence.

RAMSAY'S 'LANCASTER AND YORK.'

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: May I be permitted to defend the delegates of the Clarendon Press from your censure for issuing Ramsay's 'Lancaster and York' without an index? No one regrets the omission more than themselves. They urged the necessity of an index upon the author with all the insistency they could command, but were unable to induce him to adopt their views. Sir James Ramsay particularly desired it should be understood he was responsible for the omission.—I am,

Yours faithfully,
Philip Lyttelton Gell.

Oxford, August 11, 1892.

"LITERARIAN."

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: A writer in last Saturday's issue of *Notes and Queries*, while taking it for granted that the above-named word is "atrocious," wishes to know whether it is "allowable on any grounds." Permit me to dispose of his assumption and to answer his interrogatory.

Lawless in formation, certainly, is *Tractarian*; and yet it will live in history, to the exclusion of *Tractite*, *Tractuist*, and *Tractator*, all which have been proposed in its stead. And every whit as bad as *Tractarian* is *vegetarian*, which, nevertheless, is ineradicably established.

But regular enough, etymologically, is *literarian*, as I had convinced myself, besides feeling that some such expression was wanted, when I first ventured it in print, which was certainly upwards of thirty-two years ago.

Together with the adjectives *centenary*, *disciplinary*, *necessary*, *sexagenary*, *valetudinary*, *veterinary*, etc., we have the substantives *centenarian*, *disciplinarian*, *necessarian*, *sexagenarian*, *valetudinarian*, *veterinarian*, etc.; and closely analogous to the words in the latter group is *literarian*.

To *literatus* and *literator*, for *literary person*, or a longer phrase of equivalent import, there are obvious objections; *literate* is preoccupied in signification; and *literary*, though parallels to it are numerous, has no more chance of acceptance than *literarist*. *Literarian*, however, if we can excuse its pentasyllabism, seems to recommend itself as supplying a desideratum. Very similarly, *obituary* being given, *obituarian*, as a derivative, would be eligible, and, except for its length, quite as eligible as *obituarist*.

It was some time in the fifties, though I cannot say precisely when, that I originally ventured *literarian*, with me an unborrowed fancy. More recently, or in 1873, I find that I wrote: "This being the case, it is no wonder that the thoroughness of the Hindu *literarians* has now become a poor thing in comparison with that of their predecessors who flourished in the ages of faith."—*Scribner's Monthly*, vol. vi., p. 464.

The querist whom I set out with quoting says, regarding *literarian*, "It is, I believe, pretty common in America." Is this the fact? And who introduced the alleged atrocity?

F. H.

Marlesford, England, July 29, 1892.

Notes.

A portion of Mr. Brander Matthews's recent magazine protests against colonialism in letters will be published by Harper & Brothers, under the title 'Americanisms and Briticisms,' in the pretty series of reprints from their magazines after Curtis, Warner, Higginson, Howells, etc.

Mr. Laurence Hutton gathers, under the title 'From the Books of Laurence Hutton' (Harpers), a few brief essays, published in periodicals, upon book-plates, extra-illustrated books, the portraits of Mary Queen of Scots, portrait inscriptions, poetical dedications, and poetical inscriptions. All of these little papers belong in the catalogue of a book-lover's recreations, and they contain a considerable proportion of that minute but not trivial detail which lies in the province of "the curiosities of literature."

Mr. William Winter adds another small volume of literary travel and criticism to those which have been received with so much favor, but the title, 'Old Shrines and Ivy' (Macmillan), justifies only that half of the book which is in fact concerned with foreign scenes. The sketches are written with the grace and sentiment that characterized so happily 'Gray Days and Gold,' and the shining thread of the author's Shaksperianism runs through them; there are tributes to personal friends and acquaintances whose lives or memories were associated with the localities; there is the always impending shadow of the yew. Only a portion of the pages, however, is thus occupied. The latter part of the book is devoted to some dramatic essays reprinted from Augustin Daly's privately issued stage versions of "As You Like It" and other plays; and, last of all, are a charming tribute to Longfellow, written at the time of his death, a few words on Cooper, and a brief eulogium of John R. G. Hassard.

Robert Louis Stevenson has gathered from various magazines a volume of miscellanies (Scribners) which takes its title, 'Across the Plains,' from the opening paper, the notes of an emigrant journey. It is needless to say that the writer had an unpleasant experience, and that the pages show anything but satisfaction with American ways, mingled with much respect for the Chinese, the Indians, and the negro servants, with whom, doubtless, he had a fellow-feeling as being himself an abused member of society. The rest of the volume, made up of travel abroad or of pieces of sentimental sermonizing, is rendered tolerable only by an occasional felicity in the manner. The book is one of the odds and ends that a popular author is sorely tempted to tag his real work with. Mr. Stevenson has not resisted the temptation at all.

F. Anstey's 'Travelling Companions,' another reprint from *Punch* (Longmans), maintains the level of his laughable 'Voces Populi,' from which it differs mainly in telling a connected "story in scenes." The humor is equally irresistible and original. We might fitly term 'Travelling Companions' a comic Baedeker, or, thinking of Clough, a jocose "Amours de Voyage"; or, again, of Henry James, an English portrait of "Daisy Miller," for the American girl abroad is the heroine, and the treatment of her and her "poppa" will not detract from the popularity of the work on this side of the water. Much cleverness is shown in making Miss Trotter's conversation racy of her native soil, as when, on the top of Monte Generoso, she describes the panorama as "just a real representative mass-meeting of Swiss mountains, with every prominent peak in the country on the platform, and a deputation down below from the leading Italian lakes." But she probably said, "I don't believe we *will* have time for Nuremberg," instead of *shall* (p. 35). Mr. Partridge's numerous illustrations harmonize well with the sprightly dialogues.

A new Life of Carlyle, by Prof. John Nichol, appears in the "English Men of Letters Series" (Harpers) without adding anything of interest, either in biography or criticism, to the mass already at hand. It seems to have been impossible for the author to digest into a clear, popular summary the many volumes which contain the monotonous story of his hero's literary and personal career; and the study which is offered in place of such a condensation is no more than a long-winded and involved essay on a thoroughly exhausted topic. Prof. Nichol takes his cue wholly from Froude, though he makes reservations in places where Carlyle's limitations are marked beyond the possibility of error; but the portrait is practically that drawn by the literary executor.

Mr. Albert H. Smyth has made a genuine contribution to local history in his careful account of 'The Philadelphia Magazines and their Contributors, 1741-1850' (Philadelphia: Robert M. Lindsay) during the period of literary activity in that city. The book has drawn wide attention, mainly as a reminder of the time when Philadelphia held the leading place in the country in what then passed for literature. The interest of the record is perhaps greatest because of the strong light thrown upon the exceeding humbleness of our beginnings. Much of an antiquarian flavor is to be found in its pages, and curious passages are to be met with; but the volume is most useful to the student of forgotten authors whose manes will not always come when summoned from the vasty deep.

Mr. William T. Davis publishes a thin volume of local interest, 'Days Afield in Staten Island,' in which he gives sketches of the nature-aspects of the Island, interwoven with some anecdotes of its men, houses, and past life. The book is agreeably written and is not overloaded with naturalists' notes.

Mr. George E. Hardy, one of our grammar-school principals in this city, has, by commission from the N. Y. State Teachers' Association, drawn up a valuable list of 'Five Hundred Books for the Young' (Scribners). It has two distinguishing features in that (1) its grading has been arranged not by years, which is illusory, but by progress at school, as "History and Biography: Second-Reader Grades, Books in one Syllable. Fourth-Reader Grades. Fifth-Reader Grades," etc.; and (2) books out of print have been eliminated. This

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shows the author's intent to be to cater for school circulating libraries rather than to connect the school with the nearest public library. Mr. Hardy's annotations are somewhat naïve and familiar, and now and then, it must be said, ungrammatical. A note on p. 52 confounds an abridgment of Darwin's 'Journal of a Voyage' with the original. Mr. Hardy's preface will stimulate teachers and parents to ward off trash and corruption by actively putting sound reading in the way of the young.

Mr. W. M. Griswold, Cambridge, Mass., has extended his valuable "Descriptive Lists of Novels and Tales" with a volume for such as deal with life in France. These are largely, of course, but not exclusively, by French authors, and are all accessible, as being translations, to English readers. Mr. Griswold's method is well known—to help the reader in his selection by appending to each title the best critical or explanatory review obtainable, with occasional annotations by himself, *e.g.*, under 'Ursula': "The moral of the tale," says the *Critic*, "is good, and one is thankful that Balzac wrote one [Only one? See No. 2024] book that, like Zola's 'Rêve' [No. 784], can be put into the hands of a girl." This discrimination *pueris virginibusque* is not, as a rule, attempted by Mr. Griswold in the present volume.

M. Albert Soubies, to whom we owe the admirable series of the *Almanach des Spectacles*, now in its eighteenth year, has just written, in collaboration with M. Charles Malherbe, a sketch of comic opera in France, of which the first volume has recently been published—'Histoire de l'Opéra-Comique, 1840-1860' (Paris: Flammarion; New York: F. W. Christern). The authors outline briefly the origin and development of comic opera prior to its establishment in the Salle Favart, destroyed by fire five years ago. They give abundant dates, and supply a complete list of managers and of theatres. Thus, for the period from 1840 to 1860, they give a detailed history, year by year, with a full account of every novelty, so that one can see the growth of the tendency which threatens to change the light and laughing *opéra-comique* of the "Fra Diavolo" and "Crown Diamonds" type into the more serious and dramatic opera of the "Mignon" and "Carmen" type. This tendency has been accentuated of late years, as will be shown in the second volume of MM. Soubies and Malherbe's book. Oddly enough, a second tendency, to which they do not allude, will probably prevent the first from being harmful. This is the tendency of *opéra-bouffe* to become *opéra-comique*: Offenbach's "La Périchole," Lecocq's "Le Petit Duc," and Audran's "La Cigale," all approach the pure type of Auber and Adam. For the rest, this book is well made and is welcome. The history of a single theatre is like the history of a town or a county—an humble task, perhaps, but eminently useful.

In the *Revue Bleue* of July 16, M. Louis Miramon furnishes new evidence, if any were still needed, of the way in which France, who perhaps leads the world in most of the great arts, lags behind the world in the art of music. M. Miramon writes of Robert Schumann, whose music, he says, is just now coming into fashion in Paris. With the air of the scribe who brings new things out of his treasury, he relates some of the best-known facts of Schumann's life, especially the story of his engagement to Clara Wieck, and of the unsmooth course of their true love, and he quotes the familiar letters. Schumann's letters were published, he says, in 1886. Some of them, we should think, must have seen the light before that date, or, at the least, have been handed about in manuscript. At any rate, almost everything that M. Miramon brings forward now was known and talked about here twenty-five or thirty years ago by people who cared for music. In the same number of the *Revue*, M. Ernest Lavisse continues his valuable study of Frederick the Great, and M. Jean Ajalbert has some most interesting notes—unhappily too little philological—on the patois of Auvergne.

An interesting description of Rotti, one of the Dutch East Indian Islands, by Prof. A. Wichmann, is contained in the fifth number of *Petermann's Mitteilungen*. This island is about 50 miles long, and contains some 60,000 inhabitants, of whom about 4,000 are Christians. As a race they show some notable differences both from the Malays and the woolly-haired islanders. Their language, also, with from six to nine distinct dialects, differs from that of the neighboring islands, but has not yet been scientifically investigated. They raise cattle and cultivate the ground, which is owned by each community as a whole, while the trees are the property of individuals. There is no market, nor does money pass current among them, horses and buffaloes representing large sums and pinang nuts small ones. They choose their own rajahs, the dignity not being hereditary, but these must be acceptable to the resident magistrate. Their religion appears to consist simply of ancestral worship, in which the only known rites are dancing at certain times in a place supposed to be the abode of the spirits, and making offerings of food and ornaments. On receiving these the priests address the spirits, thanking them for the blessings of the past season, and imploring new blessings for that which is to come. Village schools in nearly all the communities are supported at the public expense. Rotti is further remarkable from the fact that it is the only place in the Timor Residency in which slavery is not suffered to exist.

In the sixth number of the *Mitteilungen* Emin Pasha's last expedition is described in some detail by his companion, Dr. F. Stuhlmann. It appears that he reached the great forest through which Stanley marched to his rescue, but, finding neither path nor food, was compelled to turn back. For eight days his people had nothing to eat but leaves and unripe corn. Near the Albert Nyanza, they were joined by some of Emin's former followers who had been left behind on his departure. Their report of the condition of affairs in the Province has a remarkable similarity to that of Stanley. A new mutiny had broken out among the soldiers, because their chief officer secretly invited the Mahdists into the country; in the course of this, many Egyptians were killed. None of the officers, of whom there are still a large number, seemed inclined to leave Equatoria, their ostensible reason being the fear of losing their present rank on reaching Egypt. Nor does it appear that they showed the slightest desire for Emin's return to his former post. The fertile country along the Nile has been reduced to an uninhabited waste by frequent raids and the cruel exactions of the Egyptian soldiers, who, according to Dr. Stuhlmann, are as grievous a scourge to the country as the Mahdists themselves. The return march to the German territory was made under great difficulties on account of hunger, exhaustion, and the smallpox among the people of the expedition, as well as the necessity for occasionally fighting their way through hostile tribes. The scientific results of the expedition, for which no motive or end is suggested in this report, were apparently very few.

In their report to the President and Fellows of Yale University for the year 1891-92, the Board of Managers of the Observatory place on record their high estimate of the generosity and personal worth of their colleague, Mr. E. M. Reed, who died in February last, and who had aided the institution by repeated gifts. The chief astronomical activity of the Observatory has centred in Dr. Elkin and Mr. Chase, who have been collecting the observational data requisite for a new determination of the mass of Jupiter, from a long series of intermutual positions of the satellites of that planet. Dr. Elkin still prosecutes his work on the parallaxes of the ten first-magnitude stars of the northern hemisphere, and he estimates that two years more will enable him to conclude this research. Next he will undertake a reconnaissance of all the rapid-moving stars which the heliometer will show, with a view to singling out those which are near enough to the earth to have a measurable distance. There are more than a hundred stars in the northern hemisphere with proper motions exceeding a half-second annually, whose parallaxes have not yet been adequately examined; and the investigation Dr. Elkin is proposing to himself will in any event be well worth the two or three years needed to complete it.

The oldest of the Scotch universities has not only determined, as has already been mentioned in these columns, henceforward to admit women "to any class or classes they may select, with a view to graduation in arts, science, theology, or medicine," but has also taken what, if we may judge by the action of some of our own universities, is the still more heroically generous step of offering to its women students a share in its pecuniary benefits. In the year 1893 a sum of upwards of £30,000 will become available for bursaries or scholarships at the University, "one-half of which is reserved for women students *exclusively*." St. Andrews, moreover, emphasizes its attitude toward the medical education of women by the further statement that "those who intend to enter the medical profession will have a prior claim to these bursaries, although they are tenable while arts and science classes are being attended." Scottish women students will therefore have to thank their Alma Mater not merely for the crumbs which fall from her amply spread table, but for an honest and substantial half of the loaf.

—Educators will find much to interest them in 'Studies in Secondary Education' (Macmillan), consisting of an introduction by Prof. James Bryce, and twelve chapters or essays contributed by six writers, all or nearly all of whom are connected with the "National Association for the Promotion of Technical and Secondary Education." The separate chapters are, in great part, of a practical character, and full of useful details concerning secondary education, by which is meant all of education between the primary school on the one hand and the university on the other. By reason of differences of social organization, the problem of education in England involves considerations which have little if any weight among us; nevertheless, there are many things in this book which may be at least suggestive to Americans. Perhaps not the least suggestive is the great change wrought, within the short space of twenty-five years, in the public sentiment of the English people as to the proper attitude of the State in matters of education; a change which must, in the main, be

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attributed to the elaborate and valuable report, accompanied by appendices filling twenty-one volumes, presented in 1868 by the Schools' Inquiry Commission and representing the results of three years of exhaustive labor. The Commission was a strong one, and was reinforced by a number of assistant commissioners, among whom were such men as Mr. Bryce, Matthew Arnold, and Prof. T. H. Green. A summary of the report forms one of the chapters of the work before us, but more than one-half of the book consists of detailed descriptions of the present condition of secondary education in a number of special, selected districts. It must be admitted that, although great improvements have been made, there is plenty of room for more. The editors of the book are convinced that it is useless to expect a good system of secondary education to be self-supporting, and that further legislation is required so that local governing bodies may be authorized to levy taxes for school purposes and to exercise control over the system of education. An act for the registration of teachers is also called for. What seems the most startling departure from traditional English policy is the demand that even private schools shall be subjected to some measure of public inspection.

—The tenth edition of Quain's 'Human Anatomy' (Longmans, Green & Co.) is largely a new work by Profs. E. A. Schäfer and G. D. Thane of University College. During the last two years there have appeared four parts, including Embryology and Histology, by Prof. Schäfer, and the Descriptive Anatomy of the bones, joints, muscles, and circulatory organs, by Prof. Thane. The remaining subjects will occupy the third volume, promised soon. Noteworthy and commendable features are the larger page, the bibliographical lists, and the new and often larger illustrations, the parts designated by their names instead of by numbers. Several embryological figures are from the recent works of His, and American anatomists will be pleased to recognize some from C. S. Minot's articles in the *Journal of Morphology*. A most encouraging evidence of the leavening influence of general biological considerations upon anthropotomy is afforded by the following paragraph:

"The words *anterior* and *posterior*, *superior* and *inferior*, and several others indicating position, are employed in human anatomy strictly with reference to the erect position of the body. But now that the more extended study of comparative anatomy and embryonic development is largely applied to the elucidation of the human structure, it is very desirable that descriptive terms should be sought which may, without ambiguity, indicate position and relation in the organism at once in man and animals. Such terms as *dorsal* and *ventral*, *cephalic* and *caudal*, *central* and *peripheral*, *proximal* and *distal*, etc., are of this kind."

—Prof. Newcomb, writing to the *Astronomische Nachrichten* from Aix-les-Bains, Savoy, a timely paper on the law and the period of the variation of terrestrial latitudes, directs attention to an early research of Euler demonstrating that if a free rigid oblate spheroid be set in rotation around an axis making a small angle with its axis of figure, and be not acted on by any force, the position of the axis of rotation within the spheroid will describe a circular cone around the axis of figure with a uniform motion. So long as the angle between these axes remains small, the period of one revolution of the axis of rotation is a constant, and determinable very simply as a function of the principal moments of inertia of the spheroid. To apply this principle to the case of the earth, this theoretic period was long since fixed at about 306 days, and the eminent German astronomer, C. A. F. Peters, was the first to discuss the question whether observations were sufficient to reveal the existence of a corresponding variation of terrestrial latitudes. Later, the investigations of Nyrén and others showed that if an inequality of this period existed at all, its amplitude could not exceed a few hundredths of a second—that is, a few feet on the surface of the earth. As, however, the earth is by no means a solid and rigid spheroid, but is partly covered by a fluid envelope and has perhaps the elasticity of steel, to adopt the conclusion of Sir William Thomson, Prof. Newcomb finds the theoretic period not 306, but 441 days. This is to be regarded as in remarkably good agreement with the period of 427 days, determined by Chandler from observation, and affords conclusive and independent evidence of the rigidity of our globe. We may therefore accept, says Prof. Newcomb, the conclusion that the pole of rotation of the earth describes a circle around its pole of figure in a period not differing much from 427 days, and in a direction from west towards east, as a result of dynamical theory.

—Observation alone will determine the exact length of the period and the radius of the circle; also, ultimately, whether the pole has moved uniformly in a circle of constant radius, as required by theory, or whether disturbing causes have so acted as to change this motion. A preliminary comparison of the results of observations at Washington, Pulkowa, Cordova, and Berlin, from 1865 to 1890, gives rise to a strong suspicion of an increase in the radius of this circle during recent years. As the possible viscosity of the earth and the friction of the ocean would make it slowly diminish, we have to look to motions in the matter composing the earth for causes which have produced the increase. Since the very nature of this phenomenon of variable latitude shows the interior of the earth to be rigid, the necessary motions are confined to matter on the earth's surface. Every change in the ocean or the polar ice-caps shifts the pole of figure of the earth; and the changes constantly occurring are of such magnitude that this pole may shift in an irregular way through a range of one or more decimetres. Evidently, then, the accumulated effect of these small motions, continued year after year, will tend to bring the poles of rotation and mean figure together, or to separate them, according to the way they chance to act. But here the poets have preceded the scientists, Emily Dickinson long ago exclaiming with no little agitation:

"What if the poles should frisk about
And stand upon their heads!"

Possibly the poles will never indulge in such license, but it is apparent that they have already been frisky enough to make the astronomers a lot of trouble.

—There has been of late years a very marked revival of the name and fame of Stendhal in France. Thirty years ago both seemed to be resting safely in an oblivion that was likely to be undisturbed. But Beyle was more truly prophetical than most of those who prophesy, when he wrote in 1832, "J'aurai quelque succès vers 1860 ou 1880." Balzac had known his books and admired them, but it was not till the decade of 1860-'70 that Stendhal was truly rediscovered by Taine and others. Since then he has been not without influence upon literature. It may perhaps be maintained that the modern school of literary "psychologues," of whom Paul Bourget is the type, derive immediately from him. Research has brought to light many of his unpublished writings which are now printed. M. Casimir Stryienski, for instance, discovered and published the curious manuscript 'Vie de Henri Brulard,' and also the 'Journal.' Since then, indeed within a few months, we have M. Louis Sarges's 'Stendhal Diplomate,' a work drawn from unpublished letters; and, lastly, the 'Lettres Intimes,' of which our Paris correspondent lately gave an account. While Stendhal's literary fame was suffering eclipse, his grave was also forgotten and neglected. This scandal has just been repaired, and on the morning of June 20 a little body of Stendhalians gathered at the newly-restored tomb. It is a monument of extreme simplicity—a plain slab of granite with a square headstone, in which is set a reproduction of David d'Angers's medallion of Stendhal, enlarged by M. Robert David d'Angers. The epitaph is the "paradoxical," or at least enigmatical, one written by himself at Milan in 1820, and beginning, "Arrigo Beyle, Milanese, Scrisse, Amò, Visse." Beyle was a Frenchman, born at Grenoble, but he always loved Italy more than France.

CAMPBELL'S PURITAN IN HOLLAND.

The Puritan in Holland, England, and America. An Introduction to American History. By Douglas Campbell, A.M., LL.B., Member of the American Historical Association. Harper & Bros. 1892. 2 vols., pp. lxxv, 1,097.

THIS is in many ways a remarkable book. Mr. Campbell has undertaken to prove that some of the most distinctive of American institutions are due to the influence of Holland rather than of England, and has established many of his claims. As a part of his argument, the author enters into an elaborate account of the history and civilization of Holland in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, showing the high development of commerce and art, and the prosperity, education, and morality of its people; and he contrasts its state with that of England in the same period—a land which he declares to have been comparatively barbarous, uneducated, and undeveloped. Mr. Campbell's admiration for republican institutions is intense, and his dislike of a monarchy pronounced. His colors are without much shade. What he would extol is light, and what he would disfavor, dark; but his presentation is striking and in the main convincing. The extent to which he has retold the history of Holland, England, and Scotland during the era of the Reformation seems, however, unnecessary, especially as it is to a considerable degree a summary of Motley and Froude. Probably his thesis would be as effectively maintained if his book were reduced to half its present size.

The instrument by which the institutions that had been conserved and developed in Holland were transmitted to America, was the Puritan. By that designation Mr. Campbell does not indicate a peculiar class of Englishmen merely, but the like-minded, earnest, thoughtful men of England, Scotland, and Holland, whose impulse came forth from the Reformation and was primarily religious. These were the men who brought about Dutch independence. They poured into England during Elizabeth's reign, to escape the persecutions and wars of their home land. By 1562, 30,000 refugees from Flanders were domiciled in England. In 1568 over 5,000 were in Lon-

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don alone. By 1587 they formed a majority of the population of Norwich. They were numerous in the Cinque Ports, and, Mr. Campbell thinks, were to be found largely also in the country districts of eastern and southern England (i, 488-90). They were industrious, and introduced extensive manufactures before unpractised on English soil; they also popularized the religious conceptions of Puritanism which had been disseminated among the upper classes by the returning Marian exiles, but which were spread among the people chiefly, the author argues, by these Dutch refugees and by the English who served in Holland during the struggle for independence, or who found a field for commerce and a refuge from persecution in the Netherlands. The Dutch represented, Mr. Campbell shows, a more advanced type of religious, political, and commercial development than the English in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and, however averse to lessons drawn from other lands the average Englishman may be, the English Puritans, and especially the more active wing of the Puritan party which settled America, were quick to see the teaching of the Netherland republic.

Mr. Campbell shows that men instrumental in the planting and moulding of the early institutions of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania were brought into intimate contact with Dutch institutions on the soil of Holland. Not only the Plymouth Pilgrims, but Dudley Peters, Hooker, Mason, and Davenport had dwelt in Holland. Roger Williams was familiar enough with Dutch to be the teacher of Milton in that tongue (ii, 203-4); while William Penn was by birth half a Hollander, and preached in his mother's language to the Quaker congregations of the Low Countries (ii, 419). New York was, of course, Dutch in its origin.

If, now, the colonies founded by these men in America show certain institutions unknown to contemporary England, but existent in Holland, their presence, the author argues, must be due to Dutch influence. Mr. Campbell is perhaps most successful in making out a case for the Dutch origin of the American systems of land transfer and mortgage registration (i, 26, 27; ii, 454-464); of popular education (i, 30-35, ii, 340-342); of the written ballot (i, 51-53, ii, 430-440), and of the system of district attorneys and the right of counsel for prisoners (ii, 440-9). But the author by no means limits the influence of Holland to these institutions, and adduces arguments to prove that the township system itself was the product of Dutch example (ii, 427-430). He makes evident a strong probability that the peculiarities of the Connecticut Constitution were derived from the experiences of the founders of that colony in their sojourn in the Netherlands (ii, 421, 426). The Form of Government prepared by Penn for Pennsylvania was in many respects shaped by Dutch precedents (ii, 464), notably in the permanency of the upper house of the Legislature, only a portion of the members being changed at any one election; and in the Legislature's share in the power of appointment (ii, 423-5). From the Dutch institutions thus introduced into these colonies the constitution of the Senate of the United States has derived many of its characteristics.

Mr. Campbell's views of the debt of America to Holland are summed up as follows (ii, 465-6):

"First comes the Federal Constitution, a written instrument as opposed to the unwritten English Constitution. Next are the provisions of this instrument placing checks on the power of the President in declaring war and peace, and in the appointment of judges and all important executive officers. Then comes the whole organization of the Senate—a mutable and yet a permanent body, representing independent bodies politic, and not caste in State and Church. After these features of the national system, but not less important, follow our State constitutions, our freedom of religion, our free press, our wide suffrage, and our written ballot. With these come the free schools, for boys and girls alike, the township system (with its sequence of local self-government in county and State), the independence of the judiciary, the absence of primogeniture, the subjection of land to execution for debt, and the system of recording deeds and mortgages. Added to these are our public prosecutors of crime in every county, the constitutional guarantee that every accused person shall have subpœnas for his witnesses and counsel for his defence, the reforms in our penal and prison system, the emancipation of married women, and the whole organization of our public charitable and reformatory work."

Mr. Campbell is an enthusiast, not to say an extremist; some of his positions are open to question, and can be permanently established, if at all, only by further investigation. But these are comparatively few. In the main he has demonstrated the validity of his claims. His work is of special value in calling attention to factors in the institutional development of America whose importance has been generally overlooked, but which can be no longer ignored.

Not the least interesting portion of the work is the concluding chapter, really of the nature of an appendix, in which Mr. Campbell points out the extent and influence of the Scotch-Irish immigration into the Middle and Southern colonies during the eighteenth century. These "Puritans of the South" (ii, 471) did not originate republican ideas, but they were receptive. They permeated the southern half of the United States, and "it was mainly through their influence that, after the Revolution, republican institutions unknown in England were introduced into the South and West" (ii, 471, 72).

Mr. Campbell's work is evidently the fruit of painstaking labor and bears marks of care and extensive research. Some slips of the pen or of memory may be noted. Vermont was not one of the thirteen original colonies (i, 52). Mr. Campbell has Leyden in mind when he speaks of the University of *Franeker* as "famous as the home of Arminius" (i, 224); and his reference on the same page should be to Stevens's 'History of the Scottish Church at Rotterdam,' not Amsterdam. Bad as were the results of the Thirty Years' War in Germany, it is certainly an extreme statement to say: "When the war ended, everything like civilization was blotted out" (ii, 313). In speaking of the constitutional peculiarities of Connecticut, Mr. Campbell declares that the "system of town representation, in opposition to a representation according to population, prevails in Connecticut alone of all the American States" (ii, 422). It exists to-day in Vermont, where it was copied from Connecticut. The date 1528 (ii, 438) is clearly a misprint for 1628.

The mechanical execution of the work is excellent, and it is admirably equipped with an exhaustive table of contents and index.

THE WORK OF THE WAGE-EARNER.

Methods of Industrial Remuneration. By David F. Schloss. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1892.

THIS book contains the result of inquiries made in many English factories, workshops, mines, and quarries as to the methods by which workmen are remunerated for their labor. The term "wages" is generic, and in these days of analytical political economy it is essential that the differentiæ of its species should be precisely defined. Nothing is more common than comparisons of wages paid in different countries, made generally for the purpose of founding arguments for or against protective duties. With few exceptions, these comparisons are worthless and misleading, for the simple reason that in them the differentiæ to which we have just referred are ignored. This is plain enough if we reflect that money wages represent only one side of a bargain, the other being some service, generally embodied in a material commodity, rendered to an employer. Any attempt to determine cost of production when only one of these elements is known, is as futile as trying to solve a problem containing two unknown quantities with only one equation.

The end of these inquiries, therefore, is really to ascertain not what wages the employer pays, but what service the employee renders for his wages, or, briefly, what work he does. In this inquiry Mr. Schloss makes a classification of the following kind, which comprehends substantially all the cases. A man is said to get time-wages when he sells to his employer, for a certain sum of money usually, or sometimes for other valuable considerations, the work which he does within a certain time. He gets piece-wages when he sells a certain quantity of work, irrespective of the time it takes him to do it. He gets task-wages when he sells the work which he does within a certain time, with a provision that its quantity shall not be below a certain amount. He gets progressive wages when, being in receipt of wages of any kind, he is further remunerated if his work exceeds a certain standard. These methods of determining the equivalent of wages are practically the only ones in use on any large scale, although several of them may be combined, and several of them may be adopted in the different branches of work in a large establishment.

Disregarding the quality of work (and perhaps in these days it is necessary to add, disregarding sentimental considerations), the interest of the employer, as employer, is to obtain the greatest possible quantity of work for the wages that he pays, or to pay the least possible wages for a certain quantity of work. The workman's interest is to do the least possible work for the highest possible wages, or to get the highest possible wages for a certain amount of work; the alternative statements being in neither case precisely equivalent. The interests of the two parties to the bargain are so far conflicting, but it is the supreme interest of both that the bargain should be struck. The employer *must* make interest on his capital; and at least some profit, or he will be driven out of business. The workman *must* make enough to keep body and soul together, and as a rule to bring up a family, or he will be driven out of existence. Between these limits there lies a debatable ground of considerable width, upon which the conflicts of capital and labor are fought, and which is divided between the opposing parties by their treaties of peace or *modi vivendi*.

This comparison, however, it is important to observe, is defective, for the following reason: It is impossible to treat modern industry statically. It is in a constant flux, and there is no business that can be long carried on without the adoption of improvements. In most departments it would be ruinous to go on without change for more than a few years. The

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employer who reduces his cost of production is the one who prospers, and it is immaterial to him, in itself considered, whether this is attained by paying less wages for the same amount of work, or by getting more work for the same wages, or for wages that are not increased in the same proportion as the work; although for many reasons it is practically better to take the latter course if possible. So, too, the laborer is in a progressive state, and is continually able to do more work, in consequence of which he sometimes prefers to spare himself, doing the same amount of work with less exhaustion; but he generally prefers to work up to his abilities for increased pay. Hence what is to be divided between the parties is not a fixed space, but a quantity that can be increased if certain terms of division are adopted.

As to time-wages, they may be satisfactory to the employer in case the work to be done is of a kind in which shirking is impossible or easily detected, because he can then, theoretically at least, pay according to what he gets. But practically in many branches of industry it is not easy to enforce faithful work, and the expense of so doing, where operations are on a large scale, is considerable. Moreover, it is always difficult to reduce the wages of a particular workman on the ground of inefficiency, his dissatisfaction being apt to be so great that his work becomes even less valuable, and it is often, with the present organization, impossible to dismiss him. On the other hand, many workmen for these very reasons prefer time-wages, and they are supported by the modern passion for equality independent of desert. The system of task-wages is odious to workmen as enabling employers to drive them up to their full capacity, workmen being as a rule of the opinion that the rate of wages can be fixed by the employer, and that after he has found out what a man can do, he will insist upon getting that quantity of work for the same wages previously paid for a less quantity.

Still, disregarding quality, the system of piece-wages is, where practicable, most satisfactory to the employer. He knows just what a certain quantity of work will cost him and can shape his course accordingly. It is not so satisfactory to workmen, for the following reasons: The inefficient men are obliged to disclose their inferiority, or are tempted to work beyond their ability. Even the capable are tempted to overwork themselves, and thus shorten their lives or at least their period of vigorous life. And there is also the principle of natural equality, as well as the apprehension that if the pace is quickened, the pay may be after a time reduced. The danger of overwork is real, but of its extent we know, unfortunately, very little. The other objections are outweighed by the advantages of a system that proportions wages to work.

All of these calculations are altered by introducing the consideration of quality. We read in advertisements of houses for sale that they have been built by day's work, it being taken for granted that this makes them more valuable than if built by contract; and this is characteristic of time-work as compared with piece-work. The only object of piece-work is that more work may be done in a given time, and there is necessarily a danger that the work will not be so well done. It is the interest of the workman, and may sometimes be for the interest of the employer, that quantity should be secured at the expense of quality. The system of piece-work, therefore, is limited by the necessity of inspection. Where the quality of work can be easily determined, piece-work tends to establish itself; but where inspection is difficult or costly, it is generally necessary to adhere to time-wages.

We have in a summary way outlined some of the principles involved in this subject, and most of them are recognized in the book before us. The author's observations are in the main well founded, but he is sometimes not free from bias. It cannot be admitted to be true that "an employer who puts his men on piece-wage does so with the express object of forcing the pace"; he may wish only to put a stop to shirking. The failure to present evidence as to the injurious effect upon workmen of working by the piece is a serious defect in the treatise, especially as some evidence is given showing increases of production under the piece-work system ranging from 30 to 100 per cent.

Mr. Schloss is very hostile to the system of "profit-sharing," and his criticisms are deserving of attention. One ground of objection is all to which our space allows us to refer. The workman, if promised a share of profits, may do more work, but the employer may be unfortunate or incompetent, and make no profits, in which case the workman would have been better off on piece-wages, getting his bonus as he earned it. But it is plain that the employer would come to ruin quicker under this system than the other, and his ruin might cause greater loss to his men if thus hastened. The whole case, however, is pretty fairly considered by the author, and his remarks upon the much abused term "coöperation" are noteworthy. This is but a small book for so great a subject, but it is a step in the right direction. We need evidence, however, better authenticated and more precise than most of what is furnished here, and it must be far more extensive before trustworthy deductions can be established. Until this work is done it is idle to discuss the "labor problem." If the labor bureaus in this country were officered by statisticians, and not by politicians, they might supply most valuable materials to economic science, but we cannot expect much from them at present. We may add that Mr. Schloss gained his experience in the employment of a private person, Mr. Charles Booth, whose investigations in London have earned the highest praise.

GREECE OF TO-DAY.

La Grèce d'aujourd'hui. Par Gaston Deschamps. Paris: Armand Colin & Cie.

M. DESCHAMPS, in his 'Greece as it is To-day,' very aptly remarks that "this nation is composed of one small city and a great number of villages; but the city possesses in the Acropolis a priceless treasure, and the villages are inhabited by a clever and enduring race who have undergone centuries of oppression without losing vitality, and who possess the gift of remembering their former greatness with the power of unquenchable hopefulness." It is not the tourist who hurries through this country in an Easter vacation, irritated by the brutality of the custom-house officer, the dishonesty of the innkeeper, and the rapacity of the coachman who has taken advantage of his desire to see as much as possible in a short space of time, who can give a trustworthy account of this interesting people; they do not reveal themselves to the hasty traveller, and he does not begin to know anything about them. Nor does the diplomatist who frequents the gilded drawing-rooms of the rich Athenian bankers, who ape French manners and French luxury, and who, under a would-be gloss of Western culture, have lost all the characteristics and virtues of their race. Yet how frequently have the newspaper letters and magazine articles of such superficial observers estranged European sympathy from the Greeks, especially at moments when the Eastern question threatened to become prominent and Greek pretensions seemed to fan the flame. It is therefore all the more satisfactory to read a book about Greece as fair and impartial as that of M. Gaston Deschamps. We must acknowledge that he saw the country under exceptionally favorable circumstances, as an archæological student of the French School at Athens. This admirable institution, under the scientific direction of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, gives a three-years' salaried residence in Greece. During the winter the young men spend their time in studying archæology and history; in the spring they excavate or travel in the interior of the country, or visit Constantinople, Smyrna, and the East. Besides being well prepared in archæology and history, our author had the further advantage of a very thorough knowledge of modern Greek, so that the fine shades did not escape him. He is gifted with excellent powers of observation, a fine sense of humor, and a praiseworthy self-restraint in not dwelling on the discomforts he had to endure during his excursions in the remoter provinces.

In modern Athens our author regrets that German architects under Otho have everywhere left their mark, reducing the capital of Greece to a poor copy of Munich. He congratulates the Greeks on having, in the teeth of all the good advice offered them, chosen their position under the Temple of Pallas Athene, for the establishment of their principal city. Ægina and Patras were suggested as being more practical sites for the purpose, but the enthusiasts who regarded the Acropolis as the centre of civilization, carried the day, and the position seems to have inspired even the Emperor of Germany with a degree of lyrical excitement which he gave vent to in telegrams. Gregorovius has recently remarked with great truth that the religion which has never perished from the human soul, but glows in it with continued fervor, is the worship of Athens. M. Deschamps acknowledges that the Acropolis is the one great monument which has not disappointed him, and which, far exceeds any previous expectation founded on a photographic acquaintance; and this is owing to the exquisite color of its marble, its surroundings, the lovely atmospheric effects of changing light on the distant hills which form its background. Winter is soon over in this sun-favored land; already in February the days are springlike, and people turn from the feverish atmosphere of politics in the cafés and wander along the Sacred Way towards Eleusis, among scarlet anemones and lavender, or wander on the Acropolis, where asphodel, thyme, and wild sage are already in bloom. And the people are so easily satisfied, they need so little to amuse them. Renan, in his Life of St. Paul, has called attention to this characteristic of the race, its cheerful philosophic tendency, the sobriety of its pleasures, its good humor. Their chief amusement is to walk about for hours on fête days or Sundays; to remain quietly at home would imply mourning or being in trouble of some kind. The poorest workmen—sailors and such like—satisfy themselves with sitting on the turf of Lycabettus and singing their monotonous sing-song, while the better-off club together and buy a lamb, which they roast and

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eat in the open air with a glass of resinate wine to wash it down. Our author remarks that they are ready enough to work when they are well paid, but they do not seek work with any persistence, nor do they stick to it long. He cites as an instance how a friend of his was employing some Greek workmen on a job which would have lasted a week. He paid them by the day, and after a few days they very respectfully informed him they were going home, as they had enough to live on for a whole month. The word in modern Greek signifying work is also synonymous with servitude, δουλεία.

The irresistible attraction that diplomatists have for Athenian society is also a sign of the times, for the Greeks pin their faith to the great Powers, always expecting some extension of territory, some help and protection from them in the hour of need. Another reason for their respect for diplomatists is that they are supposed with honeyed words to hide their meanings, and to the descendants of Ulysses this is a priceless charm. The fair Athenian's highest ambition, therefore, is to secure some diplomatic star in the matrimonial market as a means of shining at European courts. The beauty of the Athenian women does not call forth any enthusiasm on the part of our author. He says they have more likeness to Tanagra figurines than to the Venus of Melos. They are generally black-eyed, with thick black hair and long eyelashes, and at twenty they are very fascinating, but soon become faded and too exuberant in form for grace.

The entertainments given in Athens during the winter are chiefly due to the rich merchants who, having made their fortune abroad, in London, Manchester, Marseilles, or Calcutta, return to spend it in their native land. The finest houses are built by them, the hospitals, schools, and public monuments are the result of their munificence, and yet the deputies in the Chamber passed a law reserving for *autochthones* (the indigenous) all public offices and the salaries attaching to them. The professors of the University designated these benefactors as *heterochthones* (of another soil) and the street boys as χρυσοκάνθαροι (golden flies). It was only by a continuance of effusive hospitality that the newcomers healed this feud.

Politics have a great place in the life of the Greeks. A boy begins before he has left college to take part in political discussions, and goes on to the end of his days. There are many different political parties, and people take sides much more on account of their personal interests than for any other reason, for there is neither a religious question nor a social question. For many years the political see-saw has been between Tricoupis and Delyannis. Tricoupis was just out of office at the time of Deschamps's stay in Athens. He describes him very justly as a cold, silent, hard-working man, thoroughly Greek at heart, though English by education, manners, and appearance. He says that all trustworthy judges look upon him as the most remarkable man in Greece; even his enemies cannot but admire his zeal and his capacity for hard work. Deschamps rightly attributes his momentary unpopularity among certain classes to the question of taxation, which, in Greece as in all other civilized States, appeals more than any other to the poorer people. Tricoupis is also reproached with a desire to give a Western character to Greece, while it is a well-recognized trait of this people that, however much they may affect European habits and may desire to mould themselves to Western ideals, they still retain a love of local traditions. Those, even, who have seemingly become thoroughly Parisian by their extreme quickness at learning languages and their adaptability to the habits of those around them, when they return to their old homes present a curious contrast of extreme culture and simplicity of habits, "a mixture of the Boulevard loiterer and the pallikar, a sceptic and a fervent worshipper of the Panaghia" (the Madonna). Tricoupis has the haughty dignity of manner of a European statesman, and although he never for a moment gives up any of the pretensions of the Hellenic race, he likes to proceed in an orderly manner in Government matters, and has no sympathy with bluster and rhodomontade. He is a most distinguished orator, speaking always to the point, with great fervor and coolness, very convincing to his hearers, who cannot but feel that he has whatever matter he treats of well in hand. Yet there are some who pretend that his accent is not purely Attic, and that besides this he is not in touch with Greek character. We are continually told to remember that the Greeks have had only fifty years in which to educate themselves into a civilized nation, and Tricoupis expects them to take a place already among the Powers of Europe.

"In the early years of his Ministry he increased the roads, the railroads, had the seaports properly put in order, built lighthouses on dangerous shores, dressed the soldiers in cloth with shiny buttons. He decreed that the Hellenic navy should no longer manœuvre on land, nor should the cavalry go on foot as in former times. At first the people were delighted at these improvements. The pallikars took the train and climbed on to the promontory of Munychia to watch the evolutions of their light torpedo-boats in the bay of Phalerum; they admired also, on the days of the reviews, the march by of their valiant army, and smiled with contempt as they thought of the rags the Turkish soldiers were dressed in. But alas, their good humor did not last long. When they came to pay for all these fine things, the shepherds of Arcadia were exasperated, they hid their drachmas between their skin and their vests, and made for the mountains. The tax-collectors were received in the villages with abuse and lamentations. The dogs were turned on them, and many of these functionaries were able to feel, notwithstanding their trousers, that Homer was right when he calls the Molossus of Ætolia hard of tooth. This good Greek people, notwithstanding its brilliant qualities, is more democratic, more fond of equality, more imperious than our own; it wants to control, without respite or measure, its own mandatories. It pays its taxes most unwillingly and only when forced to do so. Then when they are paid it remembers neither the arrears nor the debt, nor the functionaries who have to be paid, nor the thousand expenses a budget has to bear. One day my servant, the Cretan Janni, said to me in a tearful voice: 'Oh, sir, under Delyannis we paid fewer taxes, and yet we bought many warships nevertheless.' 'Oh, stranger!' a schoolmaster of Lidoriki in Doris said to me, 'we are heavily laden like donkeys, and we can carry no more.'"

Our author is too just to allow himself to say much about Delyannis, whom he considers the representative of the pallikar feeling. He remarks that the Delyannis party very disingenuously made use of the Cretan question to excite popular feeling against Tricoupis at that moment.

With regard to brigandage, a subject which naturally concerns travellers, M. Deschamps tells us some amusing stories. He says that, thanks to the laws Tricoupis enforced, one can travel with great security all through the country. It is only as an electioneering agent that the brigand is formidable, when he takes across the frontier, and detains for the necessary time the number of voters whose absence from the poll will insure the election of the candidate he favors. After an exploit of this kind he retires to Rumelia to empty his pockets in peace, as he may be certain that the Turkish police will not interfere with him. There seems to be an interesting brigand chief whose exploits have attracted some attention during the last few years, a certain Athanasius, or Capt. Thanasi, as his familiars call him, of picturesque appearance, who with a few pallikars stopped the train between Constantinople and Adrianople, carrying off several of Cook's tourists, besides a banker named Israel. The same Thanasi captured a very important Turk, a nephew of the Sultan, who on his return told wonderful tales of the habits of this mountain king, and who for his ransom had to give the revenue of his lands for a whole year. Among other customs it seems that Thanasi subscribes to three newspapers, one French, one English, and the third Greek; the two former are to keep him abreast of passing events and to inform him of important travellers who may be within reach, while the third is to satisfy his feeling of patriotism, for Thanasi is Greek by birth as well as Greek at heart, has an extreme aversion to Jews, and, although it sometimes happens that he kills one, he never condescends to rob them. This hero will doubtless be immortalized in the klepht songs, if his exploits are as remarkable as the stories we read would seem to show him to be.

The orthodox faith has been for ages an all-powerful factor in preserving Greek nationality in the Turkish provinces. Our author devotes one of the most interesting chapters of his book to demonstrating the attachment of the Greeks to their religion. The politicians who made the treaties supposed that as soon as the limitations of the fatherland had been defined, its children would give up their homes under Mohammedan rule and return to Greece. Such, however, was not the tendency, nor has it been since the fall of the Byzantine Empire. The Greeks have always remained where they were, retaining, notwithstanding, every feature of their nationality, under whatever despotic and hated foreign rule. So it was of old in Naucratis and Bubastis in Egypt; so it is even now in Smyrna, Thasos, Halicarnassus, and Sattalieh. In some remote regions of Asia Minor, Deschamps relates that they have lost all knowledge of the Greek language—in Isbarta, in Caramania, for instance, where the priest repeats the service in Turkish. These people are so ashamed of no longer knowing their own language that they tell a tale of the Turks having cut out the tongues of all the inhabitants so that the children were obliged to learn the language of the conquerors. Capo d'Istria, in giving a definition of Modern Greece to Mr. Willmot-Horton, said: "The Greek nation is composed of men who, since the conquest of Constantinople, have not ceased to practise the orthodox faith, to speak the language of their fathers, and who have remained under the spiritual or temporal jurisdiction of their church in whatever part of Turkey they dwelt." The Prime Minister has therefore, besides governing Greece, to consider the interests of the Greeks dwelling under Turkish rule, who, notwithstanding diplomatic fictions, are under his protection. This makes his position a very difficult one.

The orthodox ritual has remained quite or almost unchanged since it superseded polytheism, and some of the old pagan ceremonies are intermixed. For instance, on the site of an old temple of Apollo (the sun-god) the peasants of Attica go to pray to St. Elias and hang

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branches of olive and myrtle, bits of stuff, zinc eyes, and other ex-votos, to obtain cures or to have their prayers answered. The old temples have been turned into Christian chapels, and afford a rich field for the archæologist when he comes on the ruins of such a church. Byzantine icons take the place of pagan idols, and are endowed with the same powers. The church ceremonies appeal to the soul through physical sensations. They are always planned from an effective and picturesque point of view. The gloom of the churches, the lighted tapers and odor of incense, the continual genuflections and signs of the cross the faithful are in the habit of making, impress one more as mechanical and traditional customs than as anything really felt.

Education also takes an all-important place in the organization of Greece. There are thirty-five gymnasia, more than 300 secondary schools, 1,569 primary schools for boys, 332 primary schools for girls. Besides these, in which education is free, there are innumerable independent institutions, among which is the Arsakeion, a college for women, which furnishes school-teachers not only for Greece, but for all the Greek schools in Turkey. This college was endowed by a rich Greek of Epirus, and Greeks from every part of the East send their girls to it. The University also, which is free, is chiefly due to the generosity of the Greeks of Turkey, since their contribution (422,000 drachmas) surpassed that of the Greeks of Hellas, who contributed 308,000 drachmas. This institution is conducted very much on the plan of German universities. It is said that on the day of its inauguration one of the old heroes of the war of independence, being present with all his pistols and yataghans stuck in his belt, turned to his neighbor and remarked: "This place will do more for the salvation of our country than all the sabres of the pallikars." His appreciation was a just one, but there is no doubt that at the present moment, as our author very justly remarks, the liberal professions are overcrowded, and this drives many into the field of politics. It is to be hoped that this difficulty will be solved in time.

"An old legend related by an Icelandic monk who made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1102, tells that in the church of the Parthenon before the image of the Panaghia Atheniotissa there was a miraculous lamp burning whose flame never went out although the oil was never renewed. In the same manner during long centuries, to the great surprise of the barbarians and for the consolation of the conquered nations, the suffering soul of Hellas has endured bright and unquenchable."

The book deserves careful reading. It is amusing throughout, and contains descriptions of the author's journeys in the provinces, excavations in Amorgos, and adventures by the way.

Sir Walter Raleigh: A Biography. By William Stebbing, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan.

RALEIGH is the impersonation of the Elizabethan age, the close of which his death marks, with singular distinctness, and of which his poem, composed on the eve of his execution, is the dirge. His character is preeminently Elizabethan in its adventurousness, its versatility, its restlessness, its unbounded aspirations, its union of culture with the force of the politician, of the soldier with the sailor, of the practical with the poetical and the romantic; we must add, in the looseness of its morality. For between the moral code of the Catholic Middle Ages and the moral code of Protestantism there was an interregnum marked in the lives of most of the Elizabethan heroes and heroines, and notably in that of "Gloriana" herself. When Raleigh laid his head upon the block, Nature broke a noble and memorable though not a perfect mould. The man's versatility was most marvellous, as were the varying phases of his character and the vicissitudes of his life. "To keep at once independent and in unison the poet, statesman, courtier, schemer, patriot, soldier, sailor, freebooter, discoverer, colonist, castle-builder, historian, philosopher, chemist, prisoner, and visionary," is, Mr. Stebbing says, the biographer's perplexing task. He might have added to the catalogue "member of Parliament" and "ship-builder"; for Raleigh was skilled in ship-building as well as in navigation. In the whole Life there is not a moment of repose or languor. Prison hours are spent in writing history or making chemical experiments. Even disease brings no cessation, and when Raleigh fights for his life against his enemies, he is struggling not for existence but for power to act.

He was so constantly on the stage in all the movements and enterprises of his time, and the interest which he excited caused him to be so often mentioned by his leading contemporaries, that the materials for his Life are pretty copious. Mr. Stebbing seems to have made diligent, skilful, and critical use of them; and unless further search in the Simancas Archives should bring something new to light, his work will probably be accepted as final. Considering that he has always to be picking his way, he has succeeded in giving us an interesting and flowing narrative. One riddle he does not solve: he does not make it clear why Raleigh, till court persecution turned popular feeling in his favor, was so intensely hated. That so restless a schemer should be mistrusted among his own set is intelligible; still more intelligible is it that he should have been excluded from the Privy Council, where he would certainly have tried to dominate, by the jealousy of the Cecils. But the Cecils and the rest of his own set were his rivals. Why should the people hate him? His antagonism to Essex seems hardly a sufficient cause. His services to the nation in the struggle with Spain had been brilliant. His buccaneering tendencies would only enhance his popularity. His orthodoxy was suspected, though apparently without much reason; but belief was then in a general state of confusion, there seems to have been a tendency to free thinking among the higher classes, and the only strong religious feeling among the lower classes was hatred of Rome. Even want of sympathy with the masses, which is imputed to him, would hardly, unless manifested in some way of which we have no record, have raised the mob against him in the streets and made them pelt him as he passed. Something, apparently, is lost to our sight in the mist of time.

With regard to the conduct of the great adventurer in the last tragic episode of his life, there is some difference of opinion between Mr. Gardiner and Mr. Stebbing. Mr. Gardiner takes the severer, Mr. Stebbing the more favorable view. At such a distance of time fine points elude decision. It is vain to think that Raleigh can be made out to have been strictly virtuous or veracious, while on the other hand his lapses from virtue and veracity were not inconsistent with the heroism of those days. Was not Capt. John Smith a hero, and did he not on occasion draw the long bow? Nothing, however, in Raleigh's conduct, taken at the worst, can palliate that of James and his advisers, among whom it is sad to have to number Bacon. The execution of Raleigh upon a State conviction of treason, itself monstrously unjust, when in the meantime he had been commissioned and employed by the Crown as commander of the expedition to Guiana, was of all judicial murders the vilest. Its iniquity was only enhanced by its literal conformity to law. Suppose his commission was under the Privy, not under the Great Seal, and suppose the phrase "trusty and well beloved" was omitted; these subterfuges only betrayed premeditation. To suppose that James and Cecil did not know what they were doing when they sent forth Raleigh into Spanish territories and waters is preposterous. He was sacrificed to the growing inclination of James for a Spanish connection. The signal reaction of sentiment in his favor which followed his murder was a public verdict which posterity has with one voice endorsed, and which no criticism of Raleigh's acts or words in the Guiana expedition or its sequel can affect in the slightest degree. Perhaps the nearest parallel to the murder of Raleigh is the murder of Lally; but even this lacks the element of hypocritical legality which renders the murder of Raleigh so supremely odious a crime.

Schools and Masters of Fence. By Egerton Castle. London: George Bell & Sons; New York: Macmillan. 1892. Pp. 355.

WITH the aid of numerous illustrations, reproduced from volumes which have become inaccessible to the general reader, Mr. Castle has traced the gradual changes in the art of fencing from its remote origin in the sword and buckler play of the middle ages down to the refinements of the present century. An appendix contains a number of plates showing all the known forms of the sword, from the great two-handed weapon of the fourteenth century to the duelling sword of the eighteenth. As new masters arose and invented new methods of attack and defence, the armorers produced improved weapons adapted to the changed order of things, and so this chronological gallery of typical swords becomes a history of swordsmanship.

Paradoxical as it may seem, the development of fencing was largely due to the invention of gunpowder, and that development has reached its perfection in these latter days when fencing is practically valueless except as an exercise. After gunpowder had made armor worse than useless, it became apparent to the fighting men that the heavy sword must give place to the rapier, and that the deadly thrust would soon take the place of the slashing and cutting with which these gentry had amused themselves for centuries. In Shakspere's time the rapier had come into general use, and with it was carried a dagger which was held in the left hand for the purpose of parrying the adversary's thrusts. Hence, in "Romeo and Juliet," we read how *Mercutio*

> . . . "with one hand beats
> Cold death aside, and with the other sends
> It back to Tybalt."

Fechter, Mounet-Sully, and other actors who have appeared in the character of *Hamlet* in recent years, have taken much pride in their performance of the fencing scene, which they carried out in accordance with the rules of modern scientific fencing, but without regard to the fact that in the play *Hamlet* was challenged to a trial of rapier and dagger play. Dumas, Ainsworth, and other novelists have been guilty of similar anachronisms in applying modern terms to combats supposed to have taken place in the seventeenth cen-

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tury, when such terms were entirely unknown.

Carranza in Spain and Marozzo in Italy were among the earliest masters of fence in the sixteenth century, while Giganti and Capo Ferro, who wrote voluminous treatises in the early years of the seventeenth century, were the first to explain the advantages of the lunge, and may therefore be regarded as the forerunners of the modern school. It is curious to note how fencing, like so many other avocations, has run in families. The original Angelo came to London about 1750, and he and his descendants taught fencing there for a century. The Cavalcabos taught in Italy and France for a similar period, while the Kreusslers were well-known masters from the first quarter of the seventeenth to the end of the eighteenth century. Mr. Castle stops short of the modern school of fencing, so that his book cannot be regarded as of special importance to the beginner, but it is full of curious information, and, in comparatively small compass, gives a sufficient history of the evolution of swordsmanship.

Specimens of Old French, IX.-XV. Centuries. Edited by Paget Toynbee. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan. 1892.

We have here an excellent collection of extracts for students of Old French, probably the best, taken all together, of the various *Choix* and *Selections* covering the period in question; for, apart from the Strasburg Oaths and the Cantilena of St. Eulalia, which perforce represent the IXth century, we find sufficiently long specimens of the 'Chanson de Roland,' the Romance of 'Reynard the Fox,' the 'Roman de Brut,' and the 'Roman de Rou' of Wace, the 'Roman de Troie,' Chrestien de Troye's 'Perceval le Gallois,' Jean Bodel's 'Chanson des Saisnes,' and 'Les Douz Amans' of Marie de France for the XIth and XIIth centuries. All the leading names of the next three centuries are found, accompanied, in the great majority of cases, by such selections as evidence Mr. Toynbee's judgment and taste. It is true that the reader will look in vain for more than one favorite piece, especially among the poets of the XVth century, but he has been warned in the prefatory note that, save in rare cases, pieces which have done duty before in other collections have been omitted. This of itself is scarcely a sufficient reason for leaving out passages which possess great literary merit as well as linguistic interest; and while Mr. Toynbee's object is to show the growth of the language in the first place, and, in the second, to give the preference to such specimens as bear upon either the literature or the history of England, we nevertheless hold that a work like this should not exclude an excellent piece simply because it has already appeared.

This reservation made, and the object of the book being borne in mind, there remains nothing but praise for the manner in which Mr. Toynbee has carried out his purpose. He has covered the ground very thoroughly, and there is scarcely a work of any real importance or an author of any note unrepresented in his collection. He has made a judicious choice among the lesser lights, and fairly enough divided his space between the various forms of literature at different epochs. The *chanson de geste*, the *roman*, the *chronique*, the *ballade*, and even the farce and the mystery, are well exemplified, and in this respect the book is valuable to the student of literature. The introduction comprises a brief sketch of the origin of the French language and a *précis* of the characteristics of the Norman and Anglo-Norman, the Picard, and the Burgundian dialects, all of which are, further on, illustrated in the body of the work. A summary compendium of the grammar of Old French completes this part and speaks well for Mr. Toynbee's ability to compress essentials within a small compass. The notes are very full, scholarly, and to the point; they fill one hundred and ten closely printed pages, and, while exhibiting thorough knowledge, are not overloaded with mere erudition for erudition's sake. A glossary of two hundred and five pages, in two columns, completes the work, and makes the study of the numerous specimens a comparatively simple matter. The whole book is one which will surely be appreciated by lovers of Old French, and which can be recommended to those who desire to become acquainted with some of the literary riches of the middle ages.

The Philosophy of Spinoza. [Series of Modern Philosophers. Edited by E. Hershey Sneath, Ph.D.] By George Stuart Fullerton. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1892.

The idea of this series of books is to present the substance of the leading systems of modern philosophy in selections from the original works. Its object is to facilitate the study of the history of philosophy in colleges, as well as to meet the wants of clergymen and others who desire to make a pretty thorough, but yet not a professional, study of philosophy. Whether the plan, although it is skilfully executed in this volume, attains its ends as nearly as careful and extended but free expositions would do, may well be doubted. A student who does not want Locke's 'Essay Concerning Human Understanding' (which he can easily procure for about the price of the abridgment) on his shelves, nor Hamilton's 'Reid,' nor Kant's 'Critique of the Pure Reason,' is a person who will not understand selections from these works, and whose wants would be better served by such expositions as modern scholars to whom the several works are specially sympathetic would be able to set forth.

Of no writer is this nearly so true as Spinoza. Nobody but a ripe philosopher, profoundly versed in the history of thought, is fit to read Spinoza's 'Ethics.' A collegian will be sure to miss the essence of it, and any amateur metaphysician whose ideas have not been matured on a special side by deep reading in theology will be almost sure to fall into the same error. The reason is that Spinoza did not understand himself—that may be said of nine out of ten great thinkers, but above all of Spinoza—and consequently was a miserable expositor of his own ideas. That which will chiefly attract the attention of any inexperienced reader of the 'Ethics' is its argumentation and its pseudo-mathematical form; and if he is well versed in modern logic, these can only excite his scorn. If he is not so versed, the kernel of the book will remain still more completely shut away from his apprehension.

Another fault of this series is that not sufficient attention is given to the biographies of the philosophers. Light may be thrown upon any doctrine from the life and personality of its author; but this is particularly true of Spinoza's. Imagine a not very little but rather short Jew, somewhat shabby, but scrupulously neat and almost prim, too formal, though in forms of his own, walking with short steps, talking in short-clipped syllables, of colossal conceit. His morality is stern, not to say narrow. He so values his self-respect that he not only will not accept a pension from his own people, on condition of living like a respectable member of the synagogue, but he will not accept a pension from Louis XIV. without conditions; he refuses his consent to a fortune being left to him, and when the will of the proposed giver enjoins his heir to take care of Spinoza, the latter reduces the yearly payment from 500 florins, which the heir himself had proposed, to 300. In fact, Spinoza carries his love of independence and detestation of being under obligations so far that he will not accept any employment proper to an educated man, but practises a handicraft. He lives his life among artisans and the lower middle class, and meets no other persons except his own devoted admirers. To a man of genius, such a life would have been utterly unendurable; but Spinoza, however extraordinary his ideas, was a sluggish mind. He passed his days in a narrow circle of ideas, concerning which he was continually inventing quillets or catches, more or less puzzling, which he took for arguments. The great ideas of pantheism could not have come to him in that way; but how they did come he does not tell us. He thought that a matter of no consequence, and would have been unable to give any accurate account of it. Nobody has yet elucidated the real nature of pantheistic thought, nor shown its relation to matters of experience. The account usually given, like Spinoza's own, remains on the surface. But we cannot go further into such a subject here than just to remark that the service he performed was to render certain conceptions, as that of the Absolute, more sharp and clear than they had before been, but not to prove any truth.

Prof. Fullerton repeats doubts concerning Spinoza's love affair which appear to us perfectly gratuitous. He did not practically leave Amsterdam when the lady was twelve years old, but when she was seventeen; and the whole history seems to be from every point of view exceedingly probable.

Illegitimacy, and the Influence of Seasons upon Conduct: Two Studies in Demography. By Albert Leffingwell, M.D. With maps and diagrams. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. 1892.

It is the avowed ambition of these two essays to make statistics in regard to illegitimate births and to periodicity in human conduct and mental disease, not only easily intelligible, but also interesting. With this double purpose in view, nothing has been omitted which could be gained for clearness and picturesqueness by colored maps, diagrams, a generous distribution of statistical tables throughout the text, and numerous statistical summaries and suggestions in the appendix. Moreover, the style is amiable, and there is something contagious in the enthusiasm of the author—the love of statistics as such, and the buoyant confidence in their ultimate utility which sometimes atones for present inconclusiveness.

The study of illegitimacy relates chiefly to the United Kingdom, with a liberal use of corroborative evidence in regard to other countries. Much of the material comes first-hand from official reports, and conclusions as to local or national peculiarities are drawn from detailed analyses of annual returns covering a considerable number of years. A glance at the returns of the Registrar-General of

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Births, Deaths, and Marriages reveals the social import and the local peculiarities of illegitimacy in each of the three principal divisions of the United Kingdom. The number of births registered as illegitimate in England was 42,189 in 1879, and 40,627 in 1889—nearly three times the whole number of children born in Birmingham and Liverpool each year; in Scotland the numbers for these twelve years vary from 10,727 in 1879 to 9,643 in 1889; while Ireland for the same period shows a decline from 3,367 to 3,049. The real significance of these figures is seen in the proportion which these illicit births bear to the total number of children born. In 1878 the proportion of illegitimate to all the children born was, in Ireland 23 to the thousand, in England 47, and in Scotland 84; while the corresponding figures for 1889 are, Ireland 28 to the thousand, England 46, and Scotland 79. In other words, year after year, of each thousand births in Scotland almost twice as many are illegitimate as in England and Wales, and more than three times as many as in Ireland. So persistent are these figures, and so constant is their relation to one another, that the author not only feels warranted in predicting to a nicety the rate for the remainder of the present century, but also feels bound to assume the same local characteristics for earlier centuries, about which there is no available evidence. Indeed, each great political division of Europe seems to have its special illegitimacy average, repeated with considerable regularity from year to year. From the statistical summary covering the years from 1869 to 1889, it appears that Russia is the only European country which in any way disputes with Ireland the honor of the lowest rate of illegitimacy. Holland stands next, with Switzerland pressing close upon the rate given for England and Wales; Italy, France, Belgium, Prussia, Hungary, and Norway approximate more nearly the rate assigned to Scotland, while Denmark, Sweden, Saxony, Bavaria, and Austria follow in order, with 93, 101, 125, 141, and 147 illegitimate children per thousand births in 1889.

Passing now from these larger political or national units to still smaller ones, we are confronted with the still more remarkable fact that not only each country, but each department, county, city, and neighborhood, has its own peculiar tribute of bastardy, yielded with almost unfailing regularity to the sum total of the nation. The evidence on this point is given in detail. Ireland does not differ more widely from England and Scotland than the Irish counties differ from one another; and the same is true of England, Scotland, and Continental countries. In England it is hardly fifty years since the first attempts were made to get at these figures; but the persistence of local standards of morality is forcibly illustrated by the fact that the very counties where an abnormally high rate of illegitimacy prevailed in 1842 have retained their unenviable preëminence for half a century. If we adopt still another test, and state the proportion of illegitimate births to each thousand unmarried women (spinsters and widows) between the ages of fifteen and forty-five, the average during the ten years from 1878 to 1887 is over 21 per thousand in Scotland, 14 per thousand in England and Wales, and rather less than 5 per thousand in Ireland —a proportion about five times greater for Scotland than for Ireland.

How are these variations to be accounted for? What, in short, are the causes of illegitimacy? Poverty, it is often alleged, is the chief cause. Yet how, upon this supposition, shall we explain why the rate in Ireland is so much lower than in England and Scotland? Nay, even, how account for the still more striking fact that in Ireland, a section of the prosperous county of Ulster yields an average of fifty-one illegitimate children per thousand births—greater even than England and Wales—while a wretched barren in Connaught shows what is perhaps the lowest ratio of illegitimacy in Europe? Is, then, illegitimacy but a part of the demoralization of modern city life? Alas for bucolic virtue, even when allowances are made for faulty registration, London, Birmingham, and Liverpool would seem to have a much lower proportion of illicit births than North Wales, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Shropshire. In certain secluded sections of England and Wales "every sixth or seventh or eighth child is a bastard," and the rate in certain counties increases with the distance from the metropolis. Doubtless there is faulty registration in large towns, and unfathomed dissipation; but the rural standard of sexual morality suffers strangely in this superficial comparison of official returns. In like manner, the variations are not to be accounted for by differences in secular education. Good morals and a high standard of elementary education do not always coexist: witness the high rate of illegitimacy in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Prussia, Saxony, and Scotland, as contrasted with the minimum in Russia and Ireland.

Does religious training furnish any key to the mystery? Our author thinks it does. Yet the inadequacy of such an explanation is seen in the immense local variations in the same country and in different countries with the same religion. Nevertheless, it is in religion, and in legislation and legal impediments to marriage, that he finds a partial explanation. For the rest, the irreconcilable differences in regard to the local prevalence of illegitimacy are referred to the convenient limbo of "heredity." The result is a somewhat fantastic tracing back of the lines of local ancestry to Celts, Romans, Angles, Jutes, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, "to the different strains of English blood making themselves felt in individual conduct even after a thousand years of unity as a nation." At all events, we are told, this hypothesis "possesses one remarkable advantage: it explains phenomena otherwise inexplicable." All this indictment of piratical ancestry is supplemented by numerous statistical tables and colored maps, which make the mingling of fact and fancy interesting. Brief discussions of remedies, of the tendency to improvement, of the ages and occupations of the women involved, and of the alleged compensations for illegitimacy in the way of great names, complete the study.

The second essay of the volume, the influence of seasons upon conduct, is likewise dedicated to the proposition that it is the unexpected which happens. It is not the gloom of winter and the season of poverty and distress that goads men oftenest to suicide, insanity, violence, and murder. It is the gradually increasing light and heat of spring and summer that swells the birth-rate, legitimate and illegitimate, rouses the passions, precipitates divorce, murder, assaults, duels, riots, love, suicide, and revolution. The theory is not a new one. It is the planets which control our destinies—or perhaps the spots upon the sun. The American Revolution is reduced to "cosmic" influence, and the patriotic frenzies of July Fourth but coincide with other rash emotional and mental aberrations. Unfortunately, the author has confined himself largely to the morbid aspects of "cosmic" influence, though it is evident that the emotional exaltation and quickening life of spring is not confined to criminal and pathological channels of expression. The suggestions as to seasonal activity in reproductive instincts add nothing to Westermark's discussion of the subject. The statistics, however, are interesting, and are presented with a naïve enthusiasm characteristic of the book.

A Text-Book of Physics. By Edwin H. Hall and Joseph Y. Bergen, jr. Henry Holt & Co.

THIS little book has been prepared on the basis of the Harvard College "Descriptive List of Elementary Physical Experiments," of which it may be regarded as an expansion. In 1886 the College decided to establish a requirement of laboratory work to be recommended in place of text-book work, though the latter, considerably increased, remained as an alternative for those who could not command laboratory facilities. A special course of experiments, carefully thought out and described in detail, was necessary to make the new plan a success; and this was furnished in a pamphlet issued by the College in 1887, which has been very successful. The work before us is a supplementary text-book, which contains the full text of the College pamphlet, with minor experiments, discussion, and problem work. The book itself is in all respects excellent, and must exert a marked influence on the teaching of physics in this country.

We note a few omissions which may be worthy of consideration. The method of weighing by vibrations is not too difficult for the beginner, and is now almost universally adopted, especially by chemists. A good spring balance, with a strip of brass moving stiffly in its slot, so as to register the maximum extent of motion of the index, and a kilogramme weight, may be made to give very clear ideas of inertia under different conditions of velocity as well as of so-called centrifugal force. Some of the statements are only approximately true in cases in which the exact truth is not difficult of comprehension. This applies, for instance, to the statement of the law of Boyle. The experiment of Archimedes should be followed by the complementary experiment, easily made with a platform balance, a tumbler of water carefully balanced, and a weight suspended from a fixed point by a string. These are perhaps trivial criticisms, but such books ought to require none.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

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Bristol, G. P. Ten Selected Orations of Lysias. Boston: Allyn & Bacon. $1.
Browning Year Book. E. P. Dutton & Co. $1.
Cave-Browne, Rev. J. The History of Boxley Parish. Maidstone, Eng.: E. J. Dickinson.
Chapin, Rev. A. C. Manzoni's I Promessi Sposi. Paris: Hachette; Boston: Schoenhof. 75 cents.
Chardenal, C. A. Complete French Course. Boston: Allyn & Bacon. $1.
Dickens, Charles. Martin Chuzzlewit. Macmillan. $1.
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